The Craftsmanship, Iconography and Background of the Balinese Shadow Play

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Abstract

This thesis is intended to be the first detailed account of the craftsmanship, iconography and background of the Balinese shadow play. The theatre has an important place in Balinese culture both as it is seen to be the original art form and also as it is an essential part of religious rites. The stories upon which the plays are based are taken mainly from the Hindu epics, the Mahabharata and Ramayana. The characters, most of who are derived from the epics, are first introduced. This is a relevant background for understanding the iconography.

The thesis then turns to look at the making of the puppets. From this it emerges that complex cultural and ritual regulations underpin the craft. This leads into the largest section of the work which deals with an examination of the principles underlying the depiction of the mythical characters and their significance in terms of both the texts and the oral tradition. It is evident that the puppets are composed of standard parts which carry a more or less defined meaning. There is one important class of figures which stand out by the uniqueness of their depiction, but do not exist in the epics at all. These are the servants who are studied in some detail. It is useful further to stand back and survey a collection of puppets as a whole. This reveals complex forms of connections with social institutions and cultural beliefs.

A study of the iconography is incomplete however without an examination of the performance itself in which the puppets are seen as part of a more elaborate system including other dramatic elements. This provides the means by which cultural ideas are portrayed both through the visual form and the spoken word to the Balinese.

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Preface

My study of the Balinese shadow play is based upon a stay in the district of Gianyar in south Bali from early December 1970 until August 1972. With the exception of brief excursions to other parts of the island, my time was spent in this area. During this period I lived in a Balinese village so that I was able to see many performances with the villagers, listen to their discussions, and observe their culture at first hand. The principal language of communication was Balinese; where clarification was needed the villagers would commonly use Indonesian. Both these languages I had studied before at the School of Oriental and African Studies. My formal studies of Balinese was continued at the Universitas Udayana, Denpasar.

The help I have received in the course of carrying out this research is from sources too numerous for all to be mentioned individually. In Bali, I want first to thank Cokorda Gedé Agung Sukawati for his kindness and assistance over the years. I am also grateful to I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, of the Universitas Udayana, not only for attempting to teach me the Balinese language, but also for his explanations on many aspects of the shadow play. In the village in which I lived I am grateful to Cokorda Putera for offering me hospitality in his home. A special place must also be given to I Ketut Kacir for the time he took to accompany me to puppeteers and performances and for his efforts in instructing me in Balinese culture.

In studying the Balinese shadow play I was obliged to learn about a field on which there is a developed tradition of indigenous expertise. I am particularly grateful to the court and village puppeteers and craftsmen from whom I learnt a great deal, including how diverse knowledge of the subject is. In particular I would like

to thank I Wayan Ewer, I Nyoman Badra and I Wayan Raos. These men worked systematically with me over the period of almost two years and have contributed greatly to the study in different ways. I Ewer patiently read and translated the Adiparwa, which he insisted was a requisite background for any student of the shadow play. This, together with his comments on the characters and episodes in the epic, gave me an invaluable framework through which to understand the subject. I Badra, who was known as a skilled and entertaining performer, explained the techniques of the performance and gave me numerous myths on the characters. I Raos was an exceptionally good craftsman and teacher, who put up with endless questions which must have often seemed ignorant and trivial. My thanks must go to him for his beautiful drawings (on the medium of paper which to him was unusual). These give an idea of the richness of the iconographic tradition. Photo-copies of them are included in both volumes and acknowledged accordingly.

Outside Bali, I would like to record my special gratitude to the late Dr. Hooykaas who assisted me throughout my study and taught me so much on Bali. I also thank Anthony Christie for his help during various stages of this work. Finally I would like to thank my husband for his suggestions and criticisms, and his unfailing enthusiasm and support while I wrote this thesis.

A note on conventions, illustrations and standards of value in 1972.

The spelling of Balinese follows the standard system introduced in Indonesia and Malaysia in 1972. There is some problem as to how to spell Indian terms in an Indonesian language. As my concern here is primarily with Balinese rather than Indian culture, I have followed the spelling given by my informants. This approach was originally suggested

by Dr. Hooykaas, The Balinese is sufficiently close to the Indian that identification is fairly easy. For instance Mahabharata, Bharatayuddha and dharma becomes Mahabrata, Bratayuda and darma.

The translation requires a word of explanation. In a traditional cultural field like the shadow play, indigenous terms tend to be complex. Wherever possible I have translated these by their rough English equivalents, although as the reader will understand this involves a certain loss of subtlety of connotation. As will emerge, the shadow play is far more than a simple puppet performance. It is therefore appropriate to keep two terms in the vernacular: dalang, puppeteer or shadow play performer; and wayang, puppet, or dramatic performance in general. Most specialized terms have been checked in the dictionaries of van Eck (1876) and van der Tuuk (1897). Van Eck's dictionary is a pioneering work on the Balinese language, while van der Tuuk's is a classic and also an excellent documentation of Balinese culture. When the meaning of a word is derived from one of these dictionaries, it is indicated as v.E. (van Eck) or v.d. Tuuk (van der Tuuk).

The Balinese language is complicated by the existence of ranked vocabularies (Kersten, 1970), similar in some ways to the speech level reported for Java (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). In Gianyar the main distinction is between basa alus, refined speech, used to that which is pure and elevated; basa biasa, ordinary Balinese, which is used to inferiors and between common villagers. Below this there is basa kasar, coarse or obscene speech which is polluting and used for animals and deliberate insults. Refinement also connotes distance. So coarse language may indicate closeness when used among low castes. When the levels need to be shown, they are referred to as (A), (B) and (K) respectively. In a few instances Indonesian or Sanskrit terms are used

and are referred to as (Ind) and (S).

Pronounciation is straightforward apart from (c), which is (ch) as in 'chest'. It is also convenient to distinguish (è) and (é), as in French, from (e) the central vowel.

Any description of the shadow play requires detailed illustrations. The thesis contains a second volume which provides visual materials to substantiate the points made in the text. These have been ordered by themes into four series. The series and illustration particulars are given when appropriate (for example: B,5 is series B, illustration 5). For technical reasons the microfilming of the illustrations does not allow the reproduction of coloured photographs. These have therefore been included in Volume 1. Apart from a photograph showing the range of colours used in painting puppets, which is in the chapter on craftsmanship, there are seventeen coloured photographs of important individuals and the six servants, which are to be found in the chapters with these names.

£1 = Rp. 1,000 (Rupiah)
$ = Rp. 420 (Rupiah)

Chapter 1 The Background

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to provide an account of the craftsmanship and iconography of the shadow play in south Bali which is the arena of the old court capitals and held to be the centre of cultural activity. Existing work has concentrated on the religious background and music of the play. Almost no attention has been given to the visual side. This is, however, an important area of study. So the focus will be on the puppets, their iconography and cultural significance.

The puppets embody an ancient tradition. Most of them represent characters from the Hindu epics, the Mahabrata and Ramayana. A few derive their existence from the oral literature. The puppets follow a fixed scheme laid down in antiquity. This determines not only their form, structure, internal design and colour, but also, as this is theatre, their movements, voices and the languages used. As the shadow play is the most highly regarded and conservative art form, its iconographic principles further link it to the other arts, the dance drama, the masked dance, statues, reliefs and paintings. Of these it is regarded as the original form.

We shall see, however, that the making and form of the puppets is not a self contained field, for the shadow play is a sacred theatre. The Balinese say the puppets only 'wake up' during the performance when they accompany the plot. It is then that the screen, onto which the shadows of the figures are projected, acts like a threshold across which the gods communicate with men.

Much of the complexity of the subject lies in the varied interpretations which are placed on aspects of the shadow play. To the people the iconography is considered essentially as a system of meaning. This dimension is as relevant to them as the visual form; the two are seen

as an inseparable pair. In order to understand the craftsmanship and iconography it is therefore necessary to look at the puppets in the light of the folk, as well as the literary, tradition. Further, their significance in their proper setting of the stage is briefly considered.

A substantial amount has been written about the historical, literary and dramatic aspects of the Javanese shadow play. Some interest has also been expressed in the iconography of the Javanese puppets. Kats (1923a) was the foremost early scholar who mentioned the importance of their appearance, but he did not pursue the matter. Later Mellema (1954), Holt (1967) and Ulbricht (1970) discussed at somewhat greater length the significance of some of their features. Mellema (1954) also wrote the main work on the craft of making puppets, but it is exclusively limited to Java and concerned with a text.

Surprisingly little attention has been given to the Balinese shadow play. The principal works on the subject are by 'Hooykaas (1973a) on its religious background and McPhee (1966 & 1970) on the music. Sugriwa (1963) and Hinzler (1975) have published short introductory books on the play in which they make a few interesting, but cursory, remarks on the puppets. There is no comprehensive study of the practical craft of making puppets.[1]

Hinzler undertook research on the Balinese shadow play about the same time as my own field work. She specifically examined differences in the styles of the puppets in various parts of the island. There seems to be some evidence that the form in north Bali represents a distinct varient of the shadow play in one area comprising about 17% of the population. Where information is available and relevant it will

be referred to in footnotes, but for a more detailed account we must wait upon publication of her work.

In order to give the reader a survey of the layout and argument of the thesis, a brief outline of the chapters is given. In this chapter the historical and social background of the shadow play is discussed. Here the various aspects of the theatre are introduced: the repertoire, the puppets, the occasions of performance, the spectators, the stage and finally the performer, or dalang.

In chapter 2 a synopsis is given of the characters the puppets represent. This is based on the classical literature, in particular the Mahabrata and myths deriving from it. A few characters are not found in the Hindu epics, but in the oral tradition which is examined. The implication of kin ties for the layout of the performance is then studied. This is relevant background in order to understand the significance of of the visual.

In Chapter 3 the role of the craftsman and the making of the puppets is discussed. Initially the chapter seems self-contained, yet we shall see that the traditional practices and religious precepts which accompany the craft lay the foundation for the shadow play and indicate its religious nature.

The iconography of the puppets is described in Chapter 4. In correspondence with views held by other scholars, the component parts are isolated. However, I shall argue that these must be seen as categories within a visual system.

Following the description of the parts of the puppets, their significance within a wider cultural framework is discussed in Chapter 5. Indigenous interpretations appear to be important here, but they are supported and supplemented by contextual associations. The visual emerges

in the present as a system of meaning which communicates directly to the people.

Up to this point we have examined isolated parts as units of meaning. So in Chapter 6 I turn to look at the main protagonists in in the play and how the parts combine. We see that the visual points to three main themes: social position, individual disposition and kin ties. A fourth theme, which might be termed philosophical, may also help to account for some of the figures.

Although the epics do not refer to the servants, they are perhaps the most important actors. In Chapter 7 they are considered. Iconographically they are distinct from the other characters in the mythology, and appear so to the Balinese. Therefore they require detailed description and reference to indigenous beliefs. From this, their anomalous nature clearly emerges, for example.

In Chapter 8 I shall look at the relationship between visual similarities or differences in the puppets and the roles they occupy. Connected to differences in iconographic representation are distinctions of caste, allegiance in the epics, and so forth. This broader inspection shows the extent to which Balinese social and cultural institutions are reflected in the iconography.

It is, however, only in the performance that we see how the characters interact with one another. In Chapter 9 the two types of performance are looked at: the night play using a screen for a human audience and the day performance given without a screen for the gods. The religious nature of the theatre and its connection with morality becomes evident in the course of the chapter. The shadow play is also put into perspective by a brief discussion of its significance in Balinese culture.

Historical background of the shadow play

The shadow play exists or has existed in an extensive, but narrow, strip of territory from China in the east to Morocco and western Europe in the west. It is not my purpose to explore its origin in Indonesia. Basically scholars have three views on its origin: that it derives from India (Pischel, 1906; Krom, 1931; Sweeney, 1972), China (Goslings, 1939) or is an indigenous invention (Hazeu, 1897; Kats 1923; Rassers (1959). Although the origin of the indonesian shadow play has been the subject of much speculation, the first argument is probably the most widely held. It should be noted in this context that, while it is generally agreed that the other areas in South East Asia owe their wayang to Java (Holt, 1967, 130), they too have all at some time in their history been under the influence of India.

The earliest reference to what may be the shadow play in central Java is a stone inscription dated 906 A.D. which mentions mawayang, performing wayang (Holt, 1967, 128). Somewhat later the royal Balinese inscription, Prasasti Anak Wungçu, from the 11th century, mentions that awayang, a wayang performance, was given for the king (personal communication from Drs. Atmojo Sukarto). Although it is not definite that these terms refer to the play with flat puppets, the possibility exists.

At any rate, it seems that at sometime between the 11th and the middle of the 14th century the shadow play came over from Java to Bali. In the 11th century a close relationship was established between Bali and Java through dynastic marriages (Stutterheim, 1935, 14-5). Later during the period of the kingdom of Majapahit in east Java from the end of the 13th century to the middle of the 15th century, Indo-Javanese influences reached Bali through a series of conquests. Although there is some doubt as to the precise sequence of events (for some of the main views,

see Stutterheim, 1935, 10-7; Swellengrebel, 1960, 21-3; Hall, 1966, 74), the legendary expedition of Kertanagara supposedly took place in 1284. This was followed by the alleged conquest of the island by Majapahit's king, Rajasanagara, in 1343. The Balinese in general say that like most other cultural manifestations on the island, the shadow play was brought over during the Majapahit period.

While the Balinese and Javanese shadow play are related, it is clear that they have gone through a separate development. Balinese puppets have a lingering affinity in appearance with figures on reliefs of east Javanese temples, candi, from between the 13th and 14th century, i.e. Jago, Panataran, Kedaton and Surawana. They are also considered older than the Javanese puppets (Kats, 1923; Goslings, 1939; Mangkunagara VII, 1957). It is possible that the Islamic proscription of image-making during the last three centuries in Java influenced their highly stylized forms; the Balinese puppets are somewhat more naturalistic (Holt, 1967, 135; Brandon, 1970, 6-7). As a result I make almost no reference in my thesis to Java except in a few instances when I think it is relevant.

The first outsider who described the Balinese shadow play at some length was Chinkah, a Siamese master of a junk which landed in Bali in 1846 (Indonesia, 1969). The ruler of Klungkung gave a performance for him at his court. This gesture on the part of the ruler can be seen within a historical framework, for the aristocrats were traditionally the patrons of the arts. They sponsored religious ceremonies and cultural activities which often took place at the court. After the conquest of the north by the Dutch in 1849 and of the south in 1908, the power of the indigenous rulers was gradually curtailed, however, first by the establishment of colonial administration and later by the Indonesian Land Reform laws of 1960. This meant that effective patronage of the arts by

the princes has diminished.

The influx of tourists in the last years has also meant a shift in the direction which the arts have taken. Formerly, dramatic and dance performances were with few exceptions linked to religious occasions. Nowadays performances are given also for the benefit of the tourists and the close links between the arts and religion has weakened. This is especially true in such towns as Denpasar, Sukawati and Ubud.

Having briefly contemplated the historical background of the shadow play, it is interesting to observe that the Balinese, like the Javanese, ultimately see the play as stemming from the gods. The myth of its origin is told in the palm-leaf manuscript, Siwagama and is summed up here (see Hinzler, 1975, 11-12 for a fuller version of the myth):

> The god Siwa and his wife, Uma, were cursed and sent to earth in the form of demons. Uma became Durga and bore numerous demon children by Siwa, all of whom were mis-shapen. The gods Brahma, Wisnu and Iswara were distressed to see this. In order to placate the demons and restore Siwa and Uma to their previous forms they decided to make puppets and give a shadow play, wayang kulit, on earth. Iswara became the dalang, Brahma the lamp, and Wisnu the musical instruments. They also requested king Tatipati to make offerings for the demons. First, the three gods had no success in their mission. They then repeated the performance and gave in addition a masked dance, topèng. Finally, Siwa and Uma heeded the message imparted by the shows and were restored to their former beauty.
>
> (This myth resembles the one in the Tantu Panggelaran, written sometime between 1500 and 1635; see Holt, 1967, 287)

Social context

Bali is a small island covering about two thousand square miles. It lies 8° to the south of the equator, to the east of Java and to the west of Lombok, but separated from them by dangerous waters. While it is the most westerly of the Lesser Sunda Islands, or Nusa Tenggara, its ecological affinities with Java have led to it generally being included

within the Tropical Rain Forest belt of Central South East Asia (Fisher, 1964, 43-4, 209). This distinction from the rest of the group is marked by the Wallace line. The backbone of the island consists of a range of volcanoes. The highest of these is Gunung Agung which rises up to 3,000m in the east and is considered sacred by the people. Set within the volcanoes are large crater lakes which are the main source of water for the land. It is on a gently sloping plane in the fertile south central part of the island, intersected by many streams and rivers often cut deep into the soft volcanic rock, that the bulk of the population live.

Traditionally the island was divided into kingdoms. Since 1970, however, there have been successive changes in the structure of the administration and it now comprises one province, propinsi, of the Indonesian government and the former kingdoms, apart from Mengwi which was destroyed in war, have become local administrative centres, kebupatèn. There are eight of these: Klungkung, Bangli, Gianyar and Badung to the south, Tabanan and Jembrana to the west, Bulèlèng to the north and Karangasem to the east. Bulèlèng and Jembrana have been regarded as isolated from the southern part of the island; and Karangasem has historical strong links with Lombok, where the indigenous Sasak people have been colonized by Balinese immigrants.

According to indigenous accounts the heartland of Balinese culture is found in Gianyar, Bangli and Klungkung. It is this area which was the most exposed to early Indo-Javanese influences, and it is here that the old court capitals developed: first Pèjèng, followed by Gèlgèl and Klungkung (Stutterheim, 1935, 17). The ruler of Klungkung, the Dewa Agung (literally: Supreme God), was the titular sovereign over the whole island

until its conquest by the Dutch in the beginning of the 20th century. Still today, the precedence of the regent of Klungkung over the other kings and princes is maintained in his title.

The Balinese are a Malayo-Polynesian people who number over two million. They have a peasant economy based on irrigated rice cultivation where there is adequate water. Elsewhere they may depend upon dry crops and small-scale husbandry of pigs and cattle. The island is largely rural. There are few towns. The villages tend to be tightly clustered and situated on high ground, surrounded by rice fields. These vary from small hamlets, banjar, to large residential complexes, with population ranging from two hundred to several thousand inhabitants. The villages are formally ruled over by princes claiming the status of satriya, who live in local courts, or puri.

Balinese society is notable for its stratification into ranked descent groups or wangsa (peoples): brahmana, satriya, wèsya and sudra or jaba (literally: outsiders to the court), as they are commonly called. This is based on an ideology similar to the Indian caste system. The three high castes, known as triwangsa, are said to be descended from aristocrats who came over from Majapahit. Ideally religious, literary and artistic matters are the prerogative of the brahmana, while the satriya are the administrators, the wèsya the merchants (though often also administrators), and the sudra, who comprise over 90% of the people, the peasants. At the same time, the Balinese possess a complimentary system which emphasizes the equality of men. This is particularly evident in corporate group activities, such as village councils, orchestras or dance associations.

Over one thousand years ago, Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism seem to have reached the island by means which are not entirely clear. The chief doctrine which took root in Bali is Siwasiddanta (Swellengrebel,

1960, 62). According to this the supreme god manifests himself in gradations. He comes from the sphere of the inconceivable and immaterial to the sphere of the material world via an intermediary stage that partakes of both. The forms in which he reveals himself in the three stages are Paramasiwa, Sadasiwa and Maheswara. The last is also called Batara Guru or Siwa on Bali, and his most earthly manifestations are the trinity, Siwa-Rudra, Brahma and Wisnu. The aim of one who follows this doctrine is ultimately to unite himself with the supreme god and so to be delivered from the cycle of rebirth.

At the same time the Balinese worship their ancestors, Ieluhur. Batara Guru, which translated literally means Lord Teacher, is a name used to indicate Siwa, but, in both Sanskrit and Balinese, guru can also be translated as teacher, parent or progenitor (Swellengrebel, 1960,55). So Batara Guru refers both to the Hindu god and to the common progenitor.

There are both Siwa and Buddhist brahmana priests, padanda, although there are only a few of the latter. They perform elaborate rites, among which is the daily devotional rite to Siwa in his aspect as the sun god Surya, whereby union is sought with the god (Hooykaas, 1973b,14). These are of little concern to the sudra. They mainly rely on the brahmana priests for the holy water, tirta, which they make. This is used in all rituals. As holy water is so important in their religion, the Balinese have been known to call it agama tirta, the religion of holy water (Hooykaas, 1973b, 9).

The range of theatre and dance forms in Bali is vast. The shadow play, however, has a unique place among these, for apart from being entertainment, it fulfils social and religious needs. In the performances, man's relationship to his fellow-beings and to the cultural and natural world are explored. It is the most explicit enactment of the classical literature, and the other art forms draw inspiration from it. It is against this background that the play must be seen.

The repertoire

In the shadow play a large number of myths are disseminated and perpetuated. Most of these are derived from the Classics, in particular the Mahabrata and Ramayana. Indigenous non-Hindu sources may also be drawn on, but tales from these are rarely, if at all, enacted nowadays.

These myths are written down in palm-leaf manuscripts, lontar, in Kawi, or Old Javanese. Most such manuscripts are kept in the homes of brahamana, geriya, or the courts of satriya. The classical literature is highly esteemed in Bali and, while essentially an inheritance from the past, plays an active role in the society. It is sung and interpreted in study groups called clubs (see Robson, 1972, 312). The clubs are composed of about ten male members who generally meet twice a week. Dalangs frequently participate in these groups and so obtain a critical knowledge of the literature. The Classics form only the basis of the plays. Dalangs expand and elaborate extensively on them during the performance. They provide, however, the literary framework for the plays, and the Balinese divide them according to their repertoire as follows:[2]

1. Wayang parwa:

The repertoire is drawn from the Mahabrata, also known as astadasa parwa; referring to the eighteen volumes of the epic. Only eight of these have been rendered into Old Javanese (see Chapter 2). The myths recount the tragic conflict between two families of the Kuru clan, the Pandawas and Korawas. The quarrel culminates in the great war, the Bratayuda, in which the five Pandawa brothers confront and defeat their first cousins, the hundred Korawa brothers. One or more of the Pandawa brothers, Yudistira, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadewa, are the heroes of most of the myths.

There are a number of other Old Javanese poems, largely derivative from the Mahabrata, which are reckoned to belong to the parwa cycle.

The best known of these are Cantakaparwa, Bratayuda, Boma, Bimaswarga, Arjuna Wiwaha and Sutasoma (a story of Buddhist origin).

The myths based on the parwa cycle are complex, alluding to intricate moral, political and social problems. Plays drawn from this cycle are by far the most numerous and popular in Bali.

2. Wayang Ramayana:

The repertoire is based on the Ramayana and Uttarakanda which follows on from it. The myths tell of the abduction of Sita by the demon-king, Rawana. Her husband, Rama, finally retrieves her with the help of monkey armies led by the monkey-god, Hanuman.

Plays based on this cycle are infrequently performed. The myths are less popular than those of the parwa cycle. They are not as complex and mainly focus on the battles between the monkeys and Rawana's supporters. They are also more expensive as the orchestra requires ten to eleven men. Plays from the parwa cycle have at the most four musicians.

3. Wayang Calon Arang:

The myth concerns the widow, rangda, Calon Arang (B.13) who is a powerful witch. Her daughter, Ratna Manggali, is unable to find a husband as men fear her mother. In anger, Calon Arang sends plague and destruction throughout the land. A holy man, Mpu Barada, manages to convert her to good.

This myth is rarely performed. Few dalangs dare to dramatize it as the Balinese believe that dangerous powers are released by the play which may harm the dalang. This is a point which will be taken up later.

4. Wayang Cupak:

The myth tells of two brothers, Cupak and Grantang, who vie with each other in the quest to retrieve the stolen Javanese princess, Radèn Galuh. The brothers are very different in looks and character.

Cupak is coarse and gluttonous, while Grantang is refined and gentle. After numerous adventures, in which Cupak is shown to be treacherous and cowardly, Crantang succeeds in marrying the princess.

The story used to be popular in south Bali, but is no longer performed.

5. Wayang gambuh:

The stories which belong to this cycle tell of Panji, an east Javanese prince and his beloved princess. Many of his adventures concern his search for her.

My informants told me that wayang gambuh was no longer performed. According to Hinzler (1975, 18), however, the satriya family of Blahbatuh may still perform it for certain ceremonies. She did not, though, witness such a play personally.

6. Wayang Sasak:

The repertoire is based on the Islamic tale from east Java, Serat Menak, about the prince Jayengrana and his battles against hostile rulers.

The cycle is only known in the east of Bali, Karangasem, and in the east and west of Lombok (Hinzler, 1975, 19).

The puppets

A puppet is referred to as wayang(B) or ringgit(A). Wayang in its narrow sense can also be rendered as shadow and more broadly as dramatic performance[3]. Each puppet is a two-dimensional representation of a person, animal, bird, item of scenery or prop derived from the classical literature or oral tradition.

The outline of a puppet is cut out of cow's hide, and the facial features, dress designs and purely decorative elements are carefully incised. Both sides of the figure are then painted and sometimes still

gilded. After painting, the previously translucent leather becomes opaque (its shadow projected onto the screen is therefore colourless). It is then inserted into a split stick or horn, the end of which forms the handle.

Structurally most puppets consist of distinct parts attached to one another. The majority of erect figures have their heads, torsos and legs in one piece, while their arms are made of two separate pieces, an upper and a lower arm. The arms are therefore often the most flexible components of the body, being rotatable at the shoulder and elbow joints by means of thin rods fixed to the hands. All satriya, for example, can move both arms but ogres and priests only one. A few characters like the highest gods, are static. The under-jaw on servants is, in addition, articulated and controlled by a string.

There are many gradations in the quality of the puppets. Noble figures are intricately chiselled and their adornment looks like delicate lacework. Cruder ones are more boldly cut and lack the finesse of the others. Collections based on the same cycle are similar and the forms of the puppets essentially standard[4]. So, dalangs and knowledgeable spectators easily recognize the characters represented.

The majority of puppet collections in Bali are based on wayang parwa. Separate Ramayana sets exist but are rarely encountered, for few dalangs specialize in this cycle alone. Parwa puppets have the advantage that they represent characters from a wide range of myths. They can also be used to enact the Ramayana, Cupak and Calon Arang, although extra puppets are then added. These include monkeys for the Ramayana; the prince, Cupak, servants and members of the populace, bondrès, for Cupak; and the witch, Calon Arang, and her four pupils, sesiran, for Calon Arang.

The wayang gambuh and wayang sasak sets comprise puppets which are more Javanese in style, with the characteristic long neck and slender-waisted body.

A standard collection contains between eighty and one hundred and thirty puppets which are kept in a wooden chest, keropak. The set of a sophisticated dalang of repute tends to be more complete than that of his simple village counterpart. The dispensability of a puppet depends on his role in the performance. So a collection may not possess minor or elderly satriya who have small roles. The number of ogres may vary greatly as they rarely have defined personalities. Some puppets are also considered interchangeable. Lesser figures can represent up to three characters. Most ogres can substitute one another. However, the dalang must always consider carefully the appropriateness of the puppet chosen for a given character. Puppets representing important characters are in general not substitutable except in special cases (see Chapter 4).

The puppets are held to be sacred and special attention must be given to them. This affects the place where the puppet-chest is kept, the proper order of the puppets within it, and the necessary rites. The chest is an heirloom, pusaka, of the family and thought an essential item for a dalang. When not in use, it is placed in a shrine, piasan, in the household temple, sanggah.

Definite rules apply to the order of the puppets in the chest. The ritually most significant ones are always on top, for height connotes respect and high status (see Chapter 3). So the scenic item, the Kakayonan, followed by the supreme god, Tunggal, are the uppermost figures. Ogres, who usually have base characters, are placed at the bottom. The order of the puppets in the middle is not fixed, but is decided by what the dalang thinks appropriate.

In order to ensure the ritual purity of the puppets, small offerings are given to them throughout the Hindu-Balinese year of two hundred and ten days.[5] A special rite called ngotonin wayang has to be performed for them once a year. This takes place on the last day of the week of Tumpek Wayang which occurs every thirty weeks.[6] For this the dalang chooses about twenty to twenty-five puppets and sets them up in the eastern pavilion, balé kangin, of his house. These mainly represent characters considered noble or spiritually elevated, but also the Kakayonan, and two or three animals. These are presented with offerings, sprinkled with holy water and then religious incantations are recited. Dalangs explain that the rite celebrates the birthday of the puppets; on this day the god Iswara descended to earth to become a dalang (see the myth given earlier on the origin of the shadow play).

Rites also accompany the making of the puppets and a brahmana priest, padanda, has to consecrate a new set. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

Balinese say that if a dalang does not take care of his puppets properly, the gods or ancestors may be affronted and punish him by making him or one of the members of the family ill. It is also thought dangerous for a dalang to sell a puppet which has been consecrated. Such an act is disrespectful to the celestial beings who may curse him, tulah, and his ability to interpret the gods during the performance may then wane.

The occasions of performance

There are two different types of wayang, the night performance, wayang peteng, and the day performance, wayang lemah. Although they are related by the fact that they both use puppets, dramatize myths drawn from the Classics, and involve religious values they must be

clearly distinguished as their orientation is different. The night performance is generally an entertainment, but with strong pedagogic overtones. It lasts for about three to five hours and is given to an audience, most of whom watch the shadows of the figures projected onto a screen. The religious nature of wayang comes though to the fore in the day performance which is considered an offering to the gods and intrinsic to certain ceremonies. As such it requires no spectators and is given without a screen. It lasts one to two hours and while it is terminologically and conceptually performed during the day, the play may also take place at dusk or night.

Of the various types of dramatic forms, the shadow play in particular the day performance, is the one most closely linked to the religious life of the people. This is all ready evident from the occasions when it is performed.

The night performance takes place most frequently during the celebration of a temple's anniversay, odalan, once in two hundred and ten days. It is customary throughout the island to have a form of entertainment on each of the three final days of an anniversary for which the congregation of the temple pays. These range from dance drama, ramayana wong, masked dance, topèng, operetta, arja, dance, sesolahan, and popular modern drama to the shadow play, wayang kulit. Although drama was the most popular choice at the time of my field work as the stories are lively and involve light-hearted romantic episodes, the shadow play was often performed (B, 1 & 2). It has the advantage of being less expensive than other theatre forms which require more actors. Also the plays which are thought suitable are primarily based on the parwa, but sometimes the Ramayana cycle, as they have moral content.

The night performance may also take place when a court or well-to-do sudra household hires a dalang to celebrate a specific domestic occasion, for example marriage or birth. Such a show is given voluntarily and is largely prestigious, for it indicates respect and awareness of traditional culture, as well as being a display of wealth.

Another common reason for a night performance is in connection with a 'vow' or 'thanksgiving', mesesangi. The play is then given in fulfilment of a vow which the sponsor made to thank the gods for granting a requested favour. Such a vow is primarily made when a member of the family is ill and the gods are called upon to restore his health. The performance is considered a suitable gift because of its religious value.

A performance of Calon Arang, in contrast to the other occasions of the night wayang so far discussed, is never given as entertainment. It is said sometimes to be performed in order to test the supernatural power, kesaktian, of the dalang, a process known as uji dalang.[7] Supernatural power is an important concept in Bali and is a theme taken up again later (see in particular Chapter 8). As part of a system of social control, the performance is thought to provide a mechanism whereby the witches, léyak, in the area are exposed to the public and so rendered harmless.[8]

Calon Arang is rarely performed, for it is expensive and requires large offerings. Also few dalangs are willing to dramatize the myth which they believe can have dangerous consequences: if their supernatural power for good, kesaktian tengawan, is not strong enough to combat the supernatural power for evil, kesaktian pengiwa, of the witches, they may become ill, or even die.

The night performance of Sudamala exemplifies the purificatory role the puppets can have on the stage. Sudamala connotes the destruction of bodily ailments or deformities (Hooykaas, 1973a, 159). The main occasion for such a performance is for a child born during the week of

Tumpek Wayang. Such a child is believed to be prone to illness or injury from the demon-god, Kala, and demons, buta. In order to protect him from their influence, the dalang first narrates a myth called Kalapurana which tells how the dalang Empu Lègèr conquers Kala (see Hooykaas, 1973a, 170-266). The dalang then, with the help of certain puppets, carries out a special rite, during which he makes purificatory water, toya penglukatan. This is given to the child to drink and is said to purify him so that no danger can beset him.

A Sudamala performance is considered compulsory for children born during the week of Tumpek Wayang, It takes place on the premises of the household, and on one of the anniversaries of the child. However, for poor families who cannot afford the full ceremony, if suffices - although this is not desirable - just to obtain purificatory water from a dalang.

The Sudamala rite may also be performed during one of the cremation ceremonies, or to ensure the health of a member of the family. It is then given voluntarily. The myth which is enacted beforehand is usually drawn from the parwa cycle. Because of the significance of the rite it will be described in somewhate more detail in Chapter 9.

The day performance, which it will be recalled is without a screen, is distinct from the one at night. It differs in that it is one of a complex of rites, requisite on certain occasions, and always performed at the same time that a brahmana priest recites his litany. It plays an integral part in four of the ritual cycles, pañca-yadnya; (see Hooykaas, 1975, 246-59), which governs the religious life of the Balinese, and must be seen in connection with them. They comprise; life-cycle rites, manusa-yadnya; rites for the dead, pitra-yadnya; rites for gods, dewa-yadnya; and for demons, buta-yadnya. Finally there is a somewhat obscure cycle of rites said to be for the priests or the pious, resi-yadnya.

Rites of passage take place within the sphere of the family. They mark basic turning points in life involving changes in the social status of individuals. The day performance is requisite for certain of these

occasions in the courts or the houses of brahmana. These are: the ceremony performed on the 105th day after the birth of a child, tigang odalan (A), upon which it attains a normal state and may enter temples; tooth filing, mepandas (A); and marriage, mekerab (A). The performance is rarely given in a sudra family. It is not required and would merely add to the cost of the ceremony.

Rites for the dead are numerous and complex, involving both burial and cremation. The aim is to purify the soul of the dead so that it can become a deified ancestor worshipped in the household temple. In a high caste family the day performance is obligatory for cremation, pelebon(A), and is possible for additional rites of purification, ngasti, meligya and ngeluwer. It is also performed for communal village burials, ngabèn(B), held once about every ten years.

The rites carried out during the anniversary of a temple are to the gods. There are over twenty thousand temples in Bali. Each local religious community, désa, has at least three: the village temple, pura désa, the temple for the founding ancestors, pura puseh, and the temple of the dead, pura dalem (for a more precise translation of this temple, see Chapter 8). In addition there are temples of irrigation, pura subak, descent group temples, pura dadiya, temples for specific geographical sites and the six great temples, sadkahyangan. The day performance is an essential part of all temple anniversaries. (Series B, 3-5 shows the day wayang being performed in the central temple Besakih).

Once a year a ceremony is given to the demons, nyepi, in order to chase them away from the island. This takes place on main cross-roads in the local religious community. Sometimes an orchestra accompanies the performance which is supposed to frighten away the demons.

Apart from being necessary in the above cycle of rites, the day performance is also shown during the ceremony of consecration of a new temple or after extensive repairs, melaspasin. A special further incidence of the performance is after the birth of twins of the opposite sex,

anak kembar buncing, to a sudra family. Such an event, while an auspicious sign in a high caste family, is a great misfortune for sudra and the entire hamlet becomes impure. Purificatory rites have then to be carried out and these include the day performance.

A point of interest in regard to the day performance, which is taken up more fully in the chapter on performance, is that stories enacted always fit the occasion and are generally drawn from the parwa cycle, in particular the first volume, the Adiparwa. So Bima's birth may be played at a child's anniversary, the Pandawa brothers marriage at a wedding, or the death of their father, Pandu, at a cremation.

The spectators

The shadow play is not performed as commercial entertainment, nor is the audience charged admission. It is either a temple congregation, village council or the head of a household who hires a dalang and pays for the performance. The night performance costs about Rp.5,000-25,000, and the day performance Rp. 1,000-5,000. The cost depends mainly on the dalang; one of repute is more expensive than a dalang who is not yet established or has no name.

There are commonly some three to five hundred spectators at a night performance. Although all castes are represented, the majority are sudra. This is unsurprising in view of the fact that the population of Bali comprises over 90% low castes. The audience are made up largely of adult men and some children. Only a small number of women watch the performance. In my area these tended to be older and so were classified together with men or Chinese. When asked, women say it is inappropriate, sing patut(B), for them to be interested in such scholarly subjects, as the shadow play or the chanting of classical literature, mekakawin. Also they do not like the plays, which focus on conflict and war; instead they enjoy modern drama and operetta which are light and about romance. The night performance is traditionally one of the most important means of education and transmits the ideals, norms and

values of society through its visual and verbal imagery. As such it belongs to the domain of the men who are held responsible for carrying on the tradition.

Most of the audience watch the shadows of the puppets projected onto the screen, in contrast to the current practice in Java which enables them to watch from either side of the screen (Mellema 1954, 66-7). In Bali, only a few spectators observe the play from the same side as the dalang. This is made the more difficult as he is enclosed with the musicians in a booth.

The atmosphere during a night performance is relaxed. Most of the spectators know one another as they come from the same area or vicinity. During the play they stand, squat on the ground, or sit at stalls, most of which has been set up for the occasion. The audience's attention, not unlike Peacock's description of the proletarian drama, ludruk, in Java, "flickers on and off" (1968, 242). Sometimes they seem absorbed, but often they chat quietly, or eat and drink coffee or hot lime juice at the stalls. The barking of dogs and the soft crying of children can be heard. It is relatively easy to slip in and out of the crowd, and spectators arrive at any hour during the performance. The somewhat disjointed quality of the play, interspersed with self contained humorous, episodes, encourages the audience's concentration to wander in this way. In contrast there are almost no spectators at a day performance, except for a few adults and children, who are drawn by curiosity to watch the play.

The stage

In examining the stage, it is important to consider its orientation, equipment and symbolism. Balinese conceive of space as ordered according to definite rules. Within this framework ritual and secular activities are organized. Initially, the directions refer to two axes. One links the mountain lakes in the interior, kaja, to the sea, kelod, and describes

a radius round a roughly central point to produce a circle. In my area of research kaja corresponds roughly to north and kelod to south. The other axis is fixed and runs from east, kangin, to west, kauh. In this system 'to the mountains' and east reflect similar qualities: sacredness and purity. 'To the sea' and west are identified with the reverse: the demonic and impure (see Chapter 5). As the shadow play is concerned with the welfare of the community and its purity, it is properly directed 'to the mountains' (or east) and so the dalang orients himself according to indigenous ideas about what is propitious.

The places of the two types of performance differ. The night performance is shown from a raised booth in a secular area, outside the temple or in the village compound. The illustration A.2 shows the position of the booth for the wayang commissioned by Dewa Ketut Geriya from the village of Pisangkaja (this is the pseudonym used in all research, see Hobart, M, 1979). It was orientated to the north and was set up opposite the shop of the royal court on one of the main streets. Dewa Ketut Geriya requested the performance to fulfil an 'internal vow' (see earlier discussion) that he would thank the gods if he recovered from a kidney disease.

The day performance, on the other hand, takes place on the ground in a sacred area, enclosed within the household or confines of a temple. The occasion illustrated in A.3 marked the anniversary of the temple of the dead, in Sukawati. The dalang faced north; while the brahmana priest, who sat in a pavilion, pengaruman, making holy water, faced east. At the same time the masked dance was performed and music played.

The booth, panggung, for the night performance is temporarily erected for the play, after which it is taken down. Usually members of the household or community who have commissioned the performance build it[10]. A standard booth in south Bali is constructed in the following way. The wall and roof are made of coconut or bamboo woven mats which overlap at

different points. The floor consists of wooden planks covered by mats. A vertical screen, kelir, of cotton cloth (slightly over one metre by two for those I have measured) makes the background against which the puppets are moved (A.4). There are generally nine holes along the top of the screen through which string is passed and wound round a bamboo cross-bar, while iron clamps fix it to a bottom cross-bar. The screen is bordered with black cloth at the top and bottom, and small squares of red cloth are fastened to either end at the top. A coconut-oil lamp, damar, is suspended from the ceiling. A thick banana tree trunk, gedebong, is placed along the base of the screen (A.5).

During the night wayang the shadows of the puppets are projected onto the screen by the flickering light of the lamp which hangs over the dalang's head. To his left is the puppet-chest against which he taps with a gavel, cempala, in accompaniment with the play. He inserts the handles of the puppets in the soft pulp of the banana tree-trunk when they are stationary. The musicians, juru gender, who comprise four men, for a wayang parwa performance,[11] sit behind him. One or two assistants, tututan, sit to either side of him, passing him the puppets or mending them as necessary (A.6).

The equipment for the day performance is much simpler than for the performance at night. No lamp is used. Instead of a screen a string consisting of threads in three colours, white, red and black entwined together, is stretched between two branches of a dapdap (Erithrina lithosperma, a leguminous plant), perhaps a foot above the banana trunk. The dalang manipulates the puppets between the branches and two musicians[12] accompany the performance.

The equipment is however not just a technical device enabling a drama to be enacted, for it has religious significance for the Balinese. The symbolism of the stage for the night performance is particularly elaborate. It is said to replicate the cosmos: the screen

is the sky, the banana stem the earth, and the lamp the sun[13] (see Chapter 8 where I elaborate on this). Stage details also reflect religious principles. The lamp is usually lit with three bundles of wicks, sigi. The number of the bundles and the three colours of the screen, which are white, red and black, represent the trinity, trisakti, comprising respectively, the gods Iswara, Brahma and Wisnu.

Although the stage for the day performance is simple, its few constituents equally have meaning. The three colours of the string represent the trinity mentioned. Dapdap is also known as kayu sakti, the tree with supernatural power. It is of great significance in Bali. Priests use the wood in all rites, when it is burnt in an earthen-ware bowl, pasepan. In folk belief the leaves or wood of the tree can be used for various purposes, in particular to cure mental and physical diseases.[14]

The dalang

The dalang is the central figure behind the play. He is its director, creator and sole narrator, who manipulates all the puppets. In folk etymology dalang is derived from galang (v.E.: bright, clear). So a dalang is a man who makes clear the meaning of the classical literature. As a man of knowledge and a recognized ritual practitioner he is respected member of the community; in my area he is referred to by the honorific title of jèro,[15] if of low caste, or amangku,[16] if of high. Both titles imply purity and are only conferred after the dalang is consecrated.

Dalangs are always male. There are no caste restrictions on who can become a dalang, although the majority seem to be sudra. It is, however, fitting for a brahmana to be a dalang as traditionally literary and religious matters are his prerogative. A few dalangs give only day performances, but usually they perform also at night. Balinese say

that the day performance requires greater ritual purity, but the night one greater dramatic skill.

In the course of the research I made a survey of the distribution of dalangs in four out of seven subdistricts, kecamatan, in Gianyar (Table 1). The table also provides an idea of approximately how many dalangs there are for a given population, their caste, and the type of performance they give. The table indicates that there are proportionately more dalangs in the population of the highlands of Tegallalang and Tampaksiring than in the lowland areas of Ubud and Sukawati. This may be accounted for by the fact that they are mountainous and larger. Although dalangs are very mobile - well known ones sometimes travel long distances to give a performance - the north is less accessible and so requires more dalangs who are scattered throughout the region.

Dalangs in south Bali rarely live by performing the shadow play.[17] Even the most popular dalang is not usually likely to give more than five to twelve night performances in a month. The number of course increases if he performs for tourists, which may happen in the more southerly villages. The fee for a performance is divided between the dalang, musicians and assistants: the dalang receives the largest single share - although his portion varies according to his reputation. Commonly he obtains 50% of the fee, the musicians 40%, and the assistants 10%. Day performances take place more often than those at night as they are required for domestic and temple ceremonies, but the financial reward from them is minimal (see above). The primary occupation of a dalang is usually rice cultivation.

While in theory anyone may become a dalang, the role is commonly found to descend within a family. In most cases the father, uncle or grandfather of the dalang in the male line was also a dalang. Sometimes two sons become dalangs. They then share the puppet-chest between them.

Table I. Sub-districts Where Dalangs are Known

Sub-district:	Pop. in 1961:	No. of dalangs:	No. of persons per dalang:	No. of dalangs performing w.l. only:	No. of dalangs performing w.l. & w.p.:	caste: brah.	caste: s/w	caste: sudra
Tegallaland	29,006	15	1,934	4	11		1	14
Tampaksiring	26,657	10	2,666	2	8	2	4	4
Ubud	31,414	7	4,496	3	4	2		5
Sukawati	40,827	13	3,141	2	11	1	1	11
					Total	5	6	34

Notes:

w.l.: wayang lemah (day performance)
w.p.: wayang peteng (night performance)
brah.: brahmana
s.: satriya
w.: wesya

A puppet-chest is a neccessity for a dalang. It is said to accumulate guna, magical power (see note 2, Chapter 3) with age and is a family heirloom. It is difficult and expensive to obtain otherwise. Most young dalangs, however, do not feel courageous, sing purun (B), to perform until the older member of the family has died or has granted them permission to do so. It is thought disrespectful towards the senior generation to give a shadow play performance, if they are still able and willing to perform.

An individual usually becomes a dalang because the art is hereditary. An important further motive is the respect he obtains as a scholar and ritual practitioner. To become a dalang is also an outlet for someone with dramatic sense and is also a means of obtaining knowledge of the classical literature, especially in the past, in an era when there was little formal education.[18] Dalangs themselves say that if an individual is not inspired by the gods he cannot become a dalang, yèning ten wènten taksu, ten dados dalang (A).

There is no special school in Bali for dalangs, although nowadays classes are given on the art and philosophy of the shadow play at the conservatory in Denpasar. The main teachers of an aspiring dalang are his older relatives. It is rare, though, that a dalang learns everything from one source. A novice may join an ensemble of musicians or have himself accepted as a pupil of a dalang of repute. As a teacher receives no fixed payment, a pupil gives him occasional presents and assists him generally. A novice also learns from observing different dalangs or even famous actors in masked dances or operetta. From them he may pick up jokes, witty sayings or songs, which he can intersperse with the lines of his play.

One eminent dalang listed to me the following requirements of an accomplished dalang (cf. Hinzler, 1975, 27 for the criteria used to decide the eight best dalangs during the wayang festival of 1971; in Java, see Holt, 1967, 132):

1. Uning Darma Pawayangan (to know the Darma Pawayangan): to have an understanding of the mystic treatise, the Darma Pawayangan or "Laws of the Wayang". This contains the philosophical background of the shadow play, religious incantations for the puppets and for the different performances, and rules for the conduct of a dalang.

2. Uning satwa (to know myths): these stem from the classical literature and form the basis of the plays.

3. uning mebasa (to know the language): mastery of the different speech levels appropriate to the status of each figure.

4. uning megamel (to know how to play the musical instruments - in particular the gendèr), and so obtain knowledge of the music. This is important as in the performance the music and narration must be coordinated.

5. uning igelan wayang (to know the dance of the puppets): to know how to move the puppets.

6. uning raos wayang (to know the voices of the puppets): to know how to vary pitch and vocal quality in order to express the characters of the drama.

7. nyusup pikayunan ring wayang (to project thoughts into the puppets): to identify completely with the characters and so bring them to life.

8. mesikang pemineh (to unify the thoughts): to concentrate exclusively on the myth and so unfold it in an appealing way.

9. mangda kereng raos (to have a strong voice): to have the stamina to talk for several hours.

10. uning mekakawin (to know how to chant the classical texts): implying knowledge of Old Javanese and the different metrical forms.

11. uning ngeletekan keropak (to know when to tap the puppet chest): to know how to tap correctly with the gavel which is held between the toes of the right foot, and punctuate the speeches, raos angsel, Energetic tapping accompanies battle scenes.

12. uning mekarya penyelah (to know how to embellish). This occurs mainly in the sub-plots and includes:
    a. sebet ngai-ngai (to work up sadness).
    b. nyasin satwa (to ornate the myth): to describe the characters and situations eloquently.
    c. mekarya bebanyolan (to make jokes).
    d. uning sesohongan (to know proverbs).

13. uning indik kesaktian (to understand supernatural power): behind this statement is the implication of having contact with supernatural power which can be obtained from the gods, in particular Durga, and so is often associated with witches, or possessed innately (see Chapters 8 and 9).

Dalangs vary considerably in the standard of scholarship they attain. This is so especially because the training is highly individual. Dalangs, however, point out that the most important part of their training is to gain an understanding of the Darma Pawayangan (see Hooykaas 1973a).

All are acquainted with religious incantations in the treatise, even if in a garbled version, and heed some of the rules for a dalang. The most important of these is not to eat the heart of any animal. The reason given for this is that the special god of dalangs, Iswara, resides in the heart (Hooykaas, 1973a, 55).

Essentially there are two types of dalangs. There are those who are primarily skilled performers and whose dramas the predominantly low caste audience enjoy. Dalangs of the second type, while they may also be able performers, are mainly renowned as scholars. They have a deep understanding of the philosophical background of the shadow play, are well-versed in the classical literature and know Old Javanese. Courts often establish close connections with such dalangs and irrespective of their caste, become their patrons. They then attend chanting sessions of classical texts held in the court, where they may rise to become the teacher of a group. They may also hold such sessions in their own homes.

Before a dalang is formally allowed to perform, he must be consecrated. The same is true of priests, while it is optional for sculptors, dancers and others. Rites of consecration may be repeated. There are two forms of rite depending on their size: the smaller is consecration with flowers, mewinten bunga, and the larger which is the standard form, mewinten ageng or great consecration. A village priest, pamangku, suffices for the first, while a brahmana priest is required for the second. Most dalangs and all village priests undergo the larger consecration. It is preferred because it is said to confer greater purity on the candidate. According to my informants a dalang is consecrated in his household temple.[19]

A dalang can also be consecrated together with his puppet-chest. A brahmana priest carries out the rite, appropriately called mesakapan,

meaning to marry. This is performed in the cremation grounds after a chest is bought or taken over from one of the following individuals: a member of the mother's family, a distant relative in the patriline or when a generation is bypassed or from someone who is not a member of the family.

A dalang has essentially a three-fold role in the society. He is an entertainer, a teacher and a ritual practitioner. As mentioned earlier, the shadow play can be chosen from among various forms of entertainment, especially at the time of the anniversary of a temple. However, here his role as teacher is thought as at least as important if not more so, than that of dramatic performer who entertains the people. Accordingly he may also be referred to as siwan dalangé (v.d.T.: one who functions as a teacher). Formerly there were three types of recognised teachers or guru. The father or teacher of origin, guru réka, who is responsible for instructing and supervising his child so that he becomes an upright member of the community; the moral guardian and ruler, guru wisésa, whose job it is to guide his subjects; and finally, the pedagogue, guru pengajian, who teaches classical literature. The last group comprises both the brahmana priest and dalang. The dalang through his performances illustrates the moral precepts contained in the texts.

The dalang is also one of the ritual practitioners in the society, some of the other main ones being the brahmana priest, village priest and indigenous medical practitioner, balian. His role as priest is clearly expressed in the following passage from the Darma Pawayangan (Hooykaas, 1973a, 19):

> The Enlightened Dalang incorporates the earth, ogres and the Gods.
> His other name is 'Leader,' for he is Siwa, Sadasiwa, Paramasiwa.
> For 'Tintya' is the unification of all worlds; empowered

He chooses His position.
Thus is the origin of Him who is called dalang;
He is empowered to command a speech.

As a ritual practitioner he makes special purificatory water which is mainly required for a child born in the week of Tumpek Wagang[20]. A dalang should be present on the funeral tower, wadah, on the day of cremation. From there, to the accompaniment of the musical instruments, gendèr, he makes prayers and throws offerings, dapdap leaves, (see earlier discussion) and Chinese coins, kèpèng. By this means he purifies the vulnerable points of the road, such as the cross-roads, bends on the road or bridges crossing ravines, and ensures that no harm in the form of demons or witches befalls the corpse and that it arrives safely at the site of cremation (cf. McPhee, 1970, 191).

His religious role comes to the fore however during the performance itself. As the above passage indicates, the dalang is then thought to represent a manifestation of Siwa. On the stage, which is set apart from ordinary life by the offerings presented and the religious incantations he recites, the dalang acts as a mediator between the gods and men. This is discussed more fully when I examine the performance.

Conclusion

The discussion of the different aspects of the shadow play, in particular the occasions when it is performed, the significance of the stage, and above all the role of the dalang, highlight its religious nature. This emerges clearly from a study of the day performance which is one of a complex of rites necessary for specific household and temple ceremonies.

The focus in the next chapters is the wayang parwa. As we have seen, its repertoire is rich and varied. Myths from the cycle are often performed both for entertainment and ritual purposes. Most collections

are also based on this cycle. Wayang Ramayana, apart from being less popular, is also less culturally significant. Myths chosen for the day performance, for example, are almost always based on the parwa. While Calon Arang may occasionally be performed, wayang Cupak and Gambuh seem now to be obsolete. Wayang Sasak is Sasak in origin and primarily restricted to Lombok, although it is known in east Bali. With this background in mind, I now want to look at the individuals who are found in collections based on wayang parwa.

Notes

1. Pink-Wilpert (1975) has written a very short article on the technique of making puppets in Bali. It goes only briefly into the accompanying rites.

2. In the north, dalangs sometimes based their plays on wayang Jayaprana. According to Hinzler (1975, 19) it was only performed for festive, and not religious, occasions. It is now obsolete. The ballade tells of the youth Jayaprana who fell in love with a village girl. The king was jealous of him and had him killed.

3. Hazeu (1897, 20) derives wayang from yang, moving unsteadily or floating in the air and connects the term with ghosts. This relates to his theory that the shadow play originated as a cult for the dead.

4. The style of the puppets in the north differs in certain particulars from that of the south. Important variances are: puppets in the north are somewhat larger, broader and the clothes are draped more loosely around the body than those in the south (Hinzler, 1975, 52-4).

5. There are two main ways of reckoning the year in Bali: the Wuku year, based on the numerical computation of a set of current weeks (wuku) ranging in length from 1 to 10 days, in which the three most important weeks of 5,6 and 7 days define a 210 day cycle; and the Hindu system of 12 solar-lunar months (see Goris, 1960, 115-6).

6. Special days in the year are devoted to certain things which play an important part in daily life, such as coconut palms, domestic animals, keris, musical instruments, manuscripts and so forth. The Tumpek week is the last of the 7 day weeks in the Wuku year.

7. McPhee (1970, 183) says that the Balinese gave him the same reason for the Calon Arang performance, without being able to explain it further.

8. This belief may have a sound basis, for the play may be therapeutic. The dalang may relieve tension in the community by accusing villagers in his performance of being witches. It is, however, outside the scope of the thesis to discuss this performance in more detail. I also did not witness it. It is sufficient to note here that principally women marrying into compounds of related males are accused of being witches and often held responsible for illness or trouble in the family (on witchcraft, see Chapter 8).

9. Purificatory water is also made by the brahmana priest and village priest, but it must be the dalang who makes this water for child born in the week of Tumpek Wayang.

10. The booth is similar throughout the island. The differences between the north and south are only in details, such as in use of two banana tree trunks for the base in the north and one in the south (Hinzler, 1975, 32).

11. In the north there are only two musicians for the night wayang (Hinzler, 1975, 32).

12. According to Hinzler (1975, 33) a day performance in the north is nowadays given with a screen and a lamp, although elderly dalangs say that still in their youth the stage resembled that of the south.

13. In the Darma Pawayangan (Hooykaas, 1973a, 25) different places of the dalang's body are also allotted to the equipment used. This is, however, a secondary elaboration. The stage as a replica of the cosmos is of prime significance to the people.

14. The dapdap tree can be used in the following examples: its leaves can be used as charms against witches; the juice from the leaves can be given to ill people; the branches form a pillow under a dead person.

15. Jèro is a title of respect. It is also used to refer to a village priest, jèro mangku, or low caste woman who has married a high caste man.

16. According to Hooykaas (1973 b. 14) only a dalang who makes purificatory water and performs the day performance is given the honorific title amangku dalang. This is also the formal title of the dalang in the Darma Pawayangan (1973a). Hinzler (1975, 29) pointed out that jèro and mangku are only used in the north. This however, does not correspond to my experience: dalangs in Gianyar were always addressed by one of these titles according to their caste.

17. There are full-time dalangs in the north (Hinzler, 1975, 27).

18. Traditionally education was the preserve of the brahmana caste, although sudra could obtain knowledge in the classical literature by joining chanting sessions, mekakawin, or becoming dalangs. Schooling was formally introduced by the Dutch in the beginning of the 20th century.

19. In the north a priest consecrates the dalang either at home or in one of two special temples, dedicated to the god Manik Dalang (Hinzler, 1975, 28).

20. In the north a dalang makes purificatory water after all performances (Hinzler, 1975, 59).

Chapter 2. The Literary Basis of the Shadow Play: the Characters

Before turning to the making of the puppets and their iconography, a synopsis is given of the main characters which they represent. This draws on both the classical literature and the indigenous tradition. The focus is on the collections I examined, which are based on wayang parwa as they possess a wide range of individuals (see Appendix 5 of collections; all the characters described are represented by the puppets found in them). Wayang Ramayana is mainly distinguished by additional monkeys. As we shall see in Chapter 4, a few puppets may portray up to five different individuals. However those with minor roles who, according to dalangs, are not represented by a definite puppet are excluded here. The implication of their kin ties for the performance is then looked at with the help of Diagram 1. This is relevant for an understanding of the significance of the iconography later.

As I am relying heavily on the classical literature in this section, the spelling of the characters found in the Old Javanese texts is given in parentheses where it differs from the local. Although others are referred to, the main textual sources of information are:

1. The eight subdivisions or parwa, of the Mahabrata,[1] which are the earliest surviving version of the epic in Indonesia. They are in Old Javanese prose, but show their proximity to the Sanskrit epic by direct Sanskritic quotations scattered throughout the text (Zoetmulder, 1974, 68). It is know that the four earliest parwa were composed at the end of the 10th Century (Zoetmulder, 1974, 96-8).

   Of the parwa I shall concentrate on the Adiparwa, the first book and prelude to the Mahabrata. Dalangs agree that it is the core

of the epic. It recounts how the god Indra and the rice goddess Sri are banished to earth to become the five Pandawa brothers and Drupadi respectively (see under Indra; also the full version of the story in the Appendix 1), and how the Pandawas and their cousins the Korawas are raised together at the court of Astina. In it the seeds are laid for the bitter feud between the cousins which culminates in the great war, the Bratayuda.

2. Old Javanese poems in Indian metre, kakawin (Zoetmulder,1974, 109-21), to which belong Ramayana, dating from the end of the 10th century, and later poems from the east Javanese period such as Arjunawiwaha, Bratayuda, Hariwangsa, Sutasoma or Bomantaka.

3. Old Javanese poems in indigenous metre, kidung (Zoetmulder, 1974, 121-5); for example, Sudamala from the 17th and 18th century, although oral versions were known long before that time.

For my information I primarily draw on the scholarly works by the Dutch, who have published and translated many of the texts. As I make such frequent use of the authorative book by Zoetmulder, Kalangwan (1974), which is a survey of Old Javanese literature, he is indicated by the name of the text and page which he quotes. Although the sources for Hardjowirogo's work Sedjarah Wajang Purwa (1968) are not known, he is mentioned where he corresponds to the Balinese view of certain characters. Other sources are referred to in full.

For the sake of simplicity, the characters are ordered alphabetically. The servants, however, who clearly do not belong to the great epics, are separated from the others. In discussing them it is necessary to refer to the oral literature.

Individuals who have major roles in the shadow play are dealt with at some length. Attention is given to their main qualities and family ties. The characters are illustrated by photographs of puppets (in the roles they most commonly represent) from the collection of I Ewer from the hamlet of Padangtegal in Gianyar. His collection is as representative as any in south Bali and is shown in its entirety.

Abimanyu (Abhimanyu) (C.1 & 2) son of Arjuna and Sumbadra, sister of Kresna. He marries Utari, daughter of the king of Wirata (Adiparwa 68). He fights bravely in the Bratayuda, but is separated from the Pandawa camp and is overwhelmed by the Korawas. Arjuna is inconsolable as he has great affection for this son (Bratayuda, 258).

Agni (C.3) god of fire, Kresna and Arjuna help him destroy the Kandawa-forest (Adiparwa, 71).

Antaboda (Anantabhoga) (C.4) the snake-god who lives in the seventh layer under the earth. His daughter, Nagagini, marries Bima and their son is called Antasena (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 29).

Arjuna (C.5) third son of Kunti and Pandu, but his genitor is Indra (Adiparwa, 71). He is an unequalled warrior, and so handsome that women are easily attracted to him. Because of his ability at archery he wins Drupadi at the tournament held for her hand. She becomes the wife of the five pandawa brothers. Owing to a breach of the rule between them concerning their intercourse with her, Arjuna goes into exile for twelve years. During this period he elopes with Sumbadra, Kresna's sister (Adiparwa, 71). In the Bratayuda he kills his half-brother, Karna (Bratayuda, 260). He is capable of self-denial and attains spiritual power while meditating on Mount Indrakila. Siwa presents him there with the magical arrow, pasupati (Arjunawiwaha, 234-5).

Arjuna Sahasrabahu (Arjuna Sahasrabahu) (C.6) ie. Arjuna with the thousand arms. He imprisons the demon-king Dasamuka who is threatening the gods, but spares his life (Arjunawiwaha, 327-9).

Arjunatapa Arjuna while meditating on Mount Indrakila (Arjunawiwaha, 234).

Aswatama (Aśwatthāmā) (C.7) son of Krépi by Drona. In the Bratayuda, he avenges the death of his father by slaying Drupadi's five sons while they are sleeping in the night (Bratayuda, 262).

Baka a fierce ogre who oppresses the people of Ekacakramandala. Every year he has to be brought a human to eat. Bima succeeds in killing him (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 51-2).

Baladéwa (C.8) son of Basudéwa, brother of Kunti, and hence first cousin to the Pandawa brothers. He is the king of Madura. He remains neutral during the Bratayuda (Udyogaparwa, 74), but his actions on certain occasions show that his loyalties are split between the Pandawas and Korawas (Gatokacasraya, 266).

Balawa (Ballawa) (C.9) Bima in disguise, as cook and wrestler, at court of the king of Wirata, after Yudistira lost at dice against the Korawa (Wirataparwa, 72).

Banowati (C.10) daughter of Salya who marries Duryodana, but she is secretly in love with Arjuna. In the war she is killed by Aswatama, who is infuriated by her lack of loyalty to the king . (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 188)

Basudéwa (C.11) son of Kuntiboja, king of Madura, and elder brother of Kunti. He is the father of Baladéwa, Kresna and Sumbadra (Mosalaparwa, 81)

Bawimuka (B.12) a pig-like ogre. He is not known to me from any text, but may be found in village collections.

Bawiserenggi ogre brother of Bawimuka, not known to me from the texts.

Bayu (Bāyu) — (C.12) god of wind, genitor of Bima (Adiparwa, 71)

Belodya — (C.13) prime minister of the king of Wirata. He has evil designs on Drupadi and is killed by Bima. He can probably be identified with Kicaka (Wirataparwa, 72).

Biasa (Byāsa) — (C.14) an ascetic bagawan. He is son of Durgandini by Palasara, former king of Hastina. In the Adiparwa, it is told that he composed the Mahabrata. He is the father of Dastarastra, Pandu and Widura, and hence the grandfather of the Pandawas and Korawas (Adiparwa, 70).

Bima (Bhīma) — (C.15) second son of Kunti and Pandu, but his genitor is the wind god Bayu (Adiparwa, 71). He is the strongest and most impulsive of the Pandawa brothers. After Yudistira lost Drupadi at dice against the Korawas, he swears that he will avenge her cruel treatment received at the hands of Dursasana and would drink his blood. Among the opponents whom Bima slays in the Bratayuda are Duryodana, Dursasana and Sakuni (Bratayuda, 260-2). He is a mystic figure who liberates his father from hell (Stutterheim, 1956, Bimaswarga 121). He also meets the god Déwa Ruci, who is a tiny replica of himself, on his way to fetch the waters of immortality, amerta (Nawaruci; see Mangkunagara VII, 1957).

Bimaputera — eldest son of Bima. He can probably be identified with Antasena, grandchild of Antahoga, who can fly (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 135).

Bisma (Bhīṣma) — (C.16) son of the goddess Gangga by Santana. Although a satriya, he vows to remain celibate, brahmacari. He teaches the Korawas and Pandawas when young (Adiparwa, 70-1). During the Bratayuda he is made commander of the Korawa forces[3], but is struck down by Arjuna under cover from Sikandi (Bratayuda, 257).

Boma (Bhoma) — (C.17) son of the goddess Pretiwi by Wisnu. From Brahma he is endowed with great power with which he threatens the gods. Kresna smashes his head to pieces (Bomantaka, 313-9).

Brahma (Brahmā) — god of fire who in Bali is associated with south in the nine-fold division of the cosmos, nawa-sanga, and with the unfavourable direction 'to the sea', or kelod (Swellengrebel, 37-40 and 50-51). He occurs in the parwa, but his role is small.

Buriserawa (Bhūriśrawa) — son of Salya. He is deeply in love with Sumbadra, Arjuna's wife (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 183). In the Bratayuda he fights on the side of the Korawas. Arjuna shoots off his arm and Satyaki kills him (Bratayuda, 258).

Cédi — (C18) cousin and ally of Jarasanda. He tries to obtain Rukmini's hand, but fails as she becomes Kresna's wife (Hariwangsa, 251-5). He fights on the side of Boma (Bomantaka, 317)

Daruki (Daruki) — (C.19) charioteer of Kresna (Kresnayana, 284) or of Samba (Bomantaka, 315)

Dastarastra (Dhṛtarāṣtra) — son of Ambika by Biasa. He is born blind as his mother, on seeing Biasa who came to sleep with her, closed her eyes as she was frightened by his straggly red mustache and piercing eyes. Because of his defect, he rules Astina with his younger brothers, Pandu and Widura (Widyatmanta, 1958 Adiparwa I, 144-5). Dastarastra married Gandari who bears him a hundred sons and one daughter who are commonly known as the Korawas - descendants of Kuru (Adiparwa, 70).

Dimbi (Hidimbī — an ogre who is killed by Bima on being turned up-side down and then hit (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 47).

Dimbi (Hidimbī) — (C.20) ogre sister of Dimba. She falls in love with Bima. To please him she takes on human form and adorns herself. Kunti gives them permission to marry. Out of their union Gatotkaca is born (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 47-8).

Dirgabau (Dīrghabāhu) — an ogre who attacks Rama (Hooykaas, 1955, Ramayana, 42).

Dorokala — gatewatcher and servant of Yama, the god of the dead. He guards the crossroads between heaven and hell (Hooykaas, J., 1955, 413).[4]

Drèstajumena (Dhrstadymna) - (C.21) son of Drupada. In the Bratayuda, he succeeds in cutting off Dona's head (Bratayuda, 259).

Drona (Drona) — (C.22) son of a heavenly nymph by a brahmana ascetic. He marries Krépi and out of their union Aswatama is born. Bitter enemity exists between him and Drupada based on caste differences[5]. He becomes the teacher of the Pandawas and Korawas while they are young (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 23-31). He is shrewd and crafty. In the Bratayuda he is made commander of the Korawa forces, but is killed by Drèstajumena after heariang that his son (Aswatama) has been slain. This was in fact a ruse suggested by Kresna, for only an elephant called Aswatama had been killed (Bratayuda, 259).

Drupada — (C.23) king of Pancala and father of Sikandi and the twins Drupadi and Drèstajumena. He is a firm ally of the Pandawas (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 78-9).

Drupadi — (C.24) daughter of Drupada and an incarnation of the rice goddess, Sri. She becomes the wife of the five Pandawa brothers (Adiparwa, 71). She adds fuel to the feud between the Pandawas and Korawas, After the dice game in which Yudistira lost, Dursasana mistreated her and she swore she would not rest before she had washed her hair in his blood (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 124).

Dumraksa (Dhumraksa) — an ogre who supports Rawana. Hanuman kills him (Ramayana, 224).

Durga (Durga) — (C.25) wife of Siwa in her dread aspect. In Bali she is associated with supernatural power for evil, kesaktian pengiwa, which she is able to grant to humans (Weck, 1937, 189-202). In Calon Arang (436) she bestows supernatural power on the witch Calon Arang enabling her to strike the country with an epidemic. She appears to prince Sutasoma and teaches him how to destroy all hostile forces (Sutasoma, 331).

Durning — (C.26) Korawa brother, He is not known by this name in the Adiparwa (for names of Korawa brothers, see Widyatmanta, Adiparwa II, 1958, 10), but it is likely that the Balinese use local terms for brothers with minor roles.

Dursasana (Duśśāsana) — (C.27) second Korawa brother. He is violent and brutal. After Yudistira loses the game of dice he tears open Drupadi's gown at the thigh and pulls loose her bound up hair, (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 124). In the Bratayuda he is killed by Bima who drinks his blood to avenge Drupadi (Bratayuda, 260).

Duryodana (Duryodhana) — (C.28) eldest of the hundred Korawa brothers, and king of Astina. His kingdom falls and he is slain by Bima in the Bratayuda who on Kresna's bidding unfairly first strikes his thigh (Bratayuda, 262).

Gada — son of Baladéwa. He supports his father against Boma (Bomantaka, 316).

Gajamuka (Gajamukha) — (C.29) giant with an elephant head who becomes one of the Sutasoma's pupils. Sutasoma instructs him on the nature of Buddhism and Siwaism (Sutasoma, 332-4)

Gana (Gaṇa) — (C.30) elephant god, son of Siwa and Uma. He defeats the demon Nilarudraka who is threatening heaven (Smaradahana, 291-4). He is usually identified with Ganésa in Bali.

Gandari (Gandhari) — daughter of king Basubala. She marries Dastarastra. She gives birth to one hundred clots of blood which become the hundred Korawa brothers (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 8).

Garuda (Garuda) — (C.31) mythical bird, vehicle of Kresna or Wisnu. He frees his mother Winata from bondage to her sister by stealing the elixir of immortality, amerta, from the gods (Adiparwa, 69).

Gatotkaca (Ghaṭotkaca) — (C.32) son of the ogre, Dimbi, by Bima. As he is partly an ogre he is a powerful and dangerous opponent. In the Bratayuda Karna kills him (Bratayuda, 281).

Gerimadya — son of Bima, unknown from texts.

Giriputri — (C.33) another name for Uma, consort of the god, Siwa (Hooykaas 1973, Sang Empu Lĕgèr, 245).

Grantika (Granthika) — (C.34) Nakula in disguise as charioteer at the court of the king of Wirata (Wirataparwa, 72).

Gumring — ogre, unknown to me from the texts.

Gundel — (C.35) unknown to me from the texts.

Hanuman (Hanūmān) — (C.36) son of Anjana by Bayu, the god of wind, and so Bima's half-brother. He crosses with his army of monkeys into Langka in order to help Rama defeat the demon king, Rawana, and retrieve his wife, Sita (Ramayana, 224-6).

Indra — chief of the gods and god of rain. He is the genitor of Arjuna (Adiparwa 71). In the Adiparwa it is also told how on the request of the rice

goddess Sri he strikes Siwa and Uma with his thunderbolt while they are making love on the mountain in heaven. Sri is jealous at seeing their pleasure. As a result Siwa curses Indra who becomes one with the mountain which divides into five parts, the pañca-indera. Each part takes on human form and descends to earth to become one of the five Pandawa brothers. At the same time Sri is told to become Drupadi, the wife of the five Pandawas (Widyatmanta, 1958 Adiparwa II, 88-90; see Appendix[1] for full story). In Bali and Java the pañca-indera are generally identified with the five senses, pañca-indriya.[6]

Indrajit — (C.37) also called Meganada is the son of Rawana. He is killed in battle against Rama's forces Ramayana, 225).

Irawan — (C.38) son of Ulupuy by Arjuna. He is killed in the Bratayuda (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 154).

Ismaya — son of the supreme god, Tunggal. In Java it is told that Ismaya descended to earth as the servant Semar (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 4-5). Semar is the equivalent of Tualèn in Bali (see under servants, Tualèn).

Jambawati (Jambawati) — wife of Kresna. Out of their union Samba is born (Hariwangsa, 255).

Jambumali (Jambumali — (C.39) ogre who supports Rawana. He is slain by Hanuman (Hooykaas, 1955. Ramayana, 48)

Janaka — heavenly sage, resi. He tries to procure peace by admonishing Duryodana to be just in his dealings with the Pandawas (Udyogaparwa, 75).

Jarasanda (Jarasandha) — (C.40) king of Karawira. He supports the king of Cedi, who is suing for the hand of Rukmini who, however, loves Kresna. He is killed in battle by Baladewa (Hariwangsa, 250-2).

Jayadrata (Jayadratha) — He is Bima's brother, being born from his caul. Initially he desires to join the Pandawas, but Sakuni persuades him to support the Korawas. (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 204). In the Bratayuda he

kills Abimanyu and is in turn slain by the heart-broken Arjuna (Bratayuda, 258).

Jayawikata — Korawa brother (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II 10). All the Korawa brothers are killed in the Bratayuda (Bratayuda, 256-62).

Jèrèng — witch (B.11) unknown from the texts. She is found in isolated village collections. She supports the Korawas.

Jogor Manik — black giant who is probably the first demon to meet the soul, as it reaches the crossroads between heaven and hell. He is a servant of Yama the god of the dead (Hooykaas, J. 1955, 243).

Kala (Kāla) — Lord of Demons, son of the god Siwa. He attempts to devour his beautiful younger brother, Pañca-Kumara. The dalang Empu Lègèr conquers him by his shadow play performance and ritual of exorcism (Hooykaas, 1973a, Kala Purana, 171-87).

Kalejemu — ogre, unknown to me from the texts.

Kalika — (C.41) demonic servant of Ra Nini who is the goddess Uma in the form of a demon (Sudamala, 434).

Kangka — (C.42) Yudistira in disguise as a brahmana at the court of the king of Wirata (Wirataparwa, 72).

Kanua (Kaṇwa) — heavenly sage, or resi who admonishes Duryodana to be just with the Pandawas (Udyogaparwa, 75).

Karna (Karṇa) — (C.43) illegitimate son of Kunti by the sun-god, Surya. Ashamed of him, Kunti abandons him on the river where he is found by a charioteer and his wife who adopt him (Adiparwa, 71). Kresna tries to persuade him to join the Pandawas (Udyogaparwa, 76), but he remains loyal to Duryodana who has befriended him and given him the kingdom of Awangga. He is the only opponent of the Pandawas considered Arjuna's equal in nobility and skill. Because of Salya's treachery in the war, Arjuna is able to kill him by shooting an arrow into his neck (Bratayuda, 260).

Kempana (Akampana) — (C.44) male ogre and adversary of Rama. (Hanuman kills him. (Ramayana, 224)

Krépa (Krpa) — (C.45) son of a heavenly nymph by the brahmana Saraduan. He is born together with his sister Krepi from a bamboo lance (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 23-4). He is a former teacher of the Pandawas and Korawas. In the Bratayuda he supports the Korawas, but points out that the Pandawas will emerge as victors (Bismaparwa, 78).

Kresna (Krsna) — (C.46) son of Basudéwa and younger brother of Baladéwa. He is considered an incarnation, avatara, of Wisnu. He is king of Dwarawati. He tries to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict between the Pandawas and Korawas, but without avail. In fury at Duryodana's conspiracy to kill him, he then assumes his divine shape as the god Wisnu in his terrifying aspect (Udyoga-parwa, 75-6). At the outbreak of war he explains to Arjuna, who hesitates to fight against his kin and teachers, that the sacred duty, darma, of a satriya is combat (Bismaparwa). His actions in the war show that he is brilliant but devious (see under Drona, Duryodana and Yudistira). He is Arjuna's charioteer (Bratayuda, 260). He is a great lover and is accredited with a thousand wives (Hariwangsa, 255).

Kumbakarna (Kumbhakarna) — (C.47) gigantic brother of Rawana. Although he disapproves of Rawana, he remains loyal to him. Lasmana, Rama's half-brother kills him (Ramayana, 217-25).

Kunti (Kunti) — (C.48) daughter of Kuntiboja, the king of Madura, and the sister of Basudéwa. She marries Pandu. She has four sons by gods: Karna by the sun-god Surya, Yudistira by the god Darma, Bima by the wind-god Bayu and Arjuna by the god Indra (Adiparwa, 70-1)

Lasmana (Lakṣmaṇa) — son of Sumitra by Dasarata, king of Ayodya, and younger half-brother of Rama whom he faithfully follows and assists (Ramayana, 217-225).

Lesmana Kumara (Lakṣaṇa-Kumāra) — (C.49) son of Banowati by Duryodana. He loves Siti Sundari. She, however, loves Abimanyu who takes her for his wife (Gatotkacasraya, 265-7).

Lotama (Tilottamā) — (C.50) heavenly nymph, widadari. She is sent to seduce Arjuna while he is meditating (Arjunawiwaha, 234).

Ludramurti — (C.51) also called Butasiyu kebot, the thousandfold-ogre of the left, in the part of Bali where I worked or the lesser pamurtian (McPhee, 1970, 192). This is a malevolent form which is primarily assumed by demons. In the Bomantaka, Boma takes on this form (Hooykaas, 1971, 19; see also illustration). Performers of the shadow play point out that Aswatama and Salya can become Ludramurti in the performance.

Marica (Mārica) — (C.52) ogre. He takes on the shape of a small deer with golden hair in order to lure away Rama and Lasmana, enabling Rawana to abduct Sita, Rama's wife (Ramayana, 219).

Matsyapati — king of Widura and father of Séta, Utara, Sangka and Utari (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 65). The five Pandawa brothers find refuge at his court after Yudistira lost at dice to the Korawas (Wirataparwa, 72).

Maya — ogre who is protected by Kresna during the fire in the Kandawa-forest (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 118).

Menaka (Menakā) — celestial nymph, widadari. Arjuna enjoys marital bliss with her and also Lotama, Supraba and four other nymphs in heaven (Arjunawiwaha, 237).

Mingtuna — ogre, unknown to me from the texts.

Nagini — (C.53) snake-mother of Taksaka who is killed by Arjuna during the fire in the Kandawa-forest (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 115).

Nakula — (C.54) son of Madrim and Pandu, but the Aswins are his genitors. He is the twin brother of Sahadéwa (Adiparwa, 71).

Narada (Nārada) — (C.55) heavenly sage, resi, who admonishes Duryodana to make peace with the Pandawas (Udyogaparwa, 75). He meets Yudistira on his way up to heaven (Swargarohana-parwa, 82).

Niwatakawaca (Niwātakawaca) — powerful ogre who threatens to destroy heaven and the gods. Arjuna, with the help of the celestial nymph Supraba, kills him (Arjunawiwaha, 234-7).

Pandu (Pāndu) — son of Ambalika by Biasa. He is weak as his mother went pale with fear on seeing Biasa when he came to sleep with her. As Dastarastra is blind he rules Astina jointly with him and Widura (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa I, 144-5). He marries Kunti and Madrim. A brahmana, who becomes angry with him, curses him saying he will die if he has sexual intercourse. He is the pater, although not the genitor - of the five Pandawa brothers. Adiparwa, 70-1.

Parikesit (Pariksit) — son of Abimanyu and grandson of Arjuna. After the war he is made the ruler of Astina, but dies after the snake Taksaka bites him (Adiparwa, 68-9).

Prahasta — (C.56). ogre who is chief minister of Rawana (Ramayana, 223).

Prajangga (Prajanggha) — (C.57) ogre and one of the principal chiefs of Rawana. He is slain (Hooykaas, 1955, Ramayana, 61).

Pratipa — (C.58) son of Jarasanda, king of Magada and arch-enemy of Kresna (Bomantaka, 316).

Rama (Rāma) — son of Dasarata, king of Ayodya. He is an incarnation of the god Wisnu. He is the hero of the Ramayana which focuses on the abduction of his wife Sita by Rawana. Rama rescues her with the help of the monkey-god Hanuman (Ramayana, 217-6)

Ratih — consort of Kama, god of love (Smaradahana, 291-5).

Rawana (Rāwaṇa) (C.59) demon king of Lengka who abducts Sita. Finally Rama kills him (Ramayana, 217-26).

Rukmini (Rukmiṇi) wife of Kresna. The king of Cédi is in love with her, but is slain (Hariwangsa, 250-4).

Sahadéwa (C.60) son of Madrim and Pandu, but the Aswins are his genitors. His twin brother is Nakula (Adiparwa, 71).

Sakuni (Sakuni) (C.61) brother of Gandari and chief minister of Duryodana. He is cunning and dishonest (Bratayuda, 256-60).

Salya (Salya) (C.62) son of the king of Mandraka and brother of Madrim. He marries Satyawati and his children are Érawati, Surtikanti, Banowati and Buriserawa. The elder three marry Baladéwa, Karna and Duryodana respectively (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 178-9). Although he is on the side of the Korawas, he secretly supports the Pandawas. In the Bratayuda he is Karna's charioteer while Kresna is Arjuna's. He prevents Karna from killing Arjuna by signalling to Kresna who presses down the front of the chariot; so Karna's arrow strikes only Arjuna's headdress. He falls at the hands of Yudistira (Bratayuda, 260-1).

Samba (Sāmba) (C.63) son of Jembawati by Kresna. He insults three sages who as a result curse him saying he will be the cause of the destruction of the entire race of the Yadus except for Kresna and Baladewa (Mosalaparwa, 80-1).

Sampati (Sampāti) (C.64) bird who shows Rama and his following the way to Lengka to rescue Sita (Ramayana, 221).

Sangka (Sangkha) (C.65) son of Matsyapati. He is slain in the Bratayuda (Bratayuda, 280).

Satruntapa (Satruntapa) (C.66) king of Kalingga and an ally of Boma (Bomantaka, 317).

Satyaki (Sātyaki) (C.67) son of Satajid and brother-in-law of Kresna (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 96). In the war he supports the Pandawas and kills Buriserawa (Bratayuda, 258).

Satyakisuta — said to be a son of Satyaki, unknown to me from the texts.

Serutasena — brother of Duryodana. He is not known by this name in the Adiparwa (see Durning).

Séta — (C.68) son of Matsyapati. He is slain in the Bratayuda (Bratayuda, 280).

Sikandi (Sikhandi) — (C.69) son of Drupada[7]. In the Bratayuda he enables Arjuna to kill, Bisma, thereby fulfilling his vow in his previous incarnation (Bismaparwa, 78). As Srikandi she marries Arjuna. In the Bratayuda Aswatama kills him (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 150).

Siti Sundari (Ksiti Sundari) — daughter of Kresna. She marries Abimanyu, Arjuna's son. (Gatotkacasraya, 268). In the Bratayuda, she commits satya, following her husband in death (Bratayuda, 258).

Siwa (Siwa) — (C.70) In the beginning of the Adiparwa homage is given to the god Siwa and his consort Parwati. With them the preceding age of darkness ends, for out of their union all things are created (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa I, 1). Siwa has various names and manifestations; Batara Guru, Lord-Teacher, is perhaps the most common in Bali. He has a prominent place in the Hindu-Balinese religion. In the nawa-sanga, the nine-fold division of the cosmos, he takes the central position. The eight gods of the cardinal points group themselves around him and exist and derive from him (Swellengrebel, 1960, 50-1).

Siwamurti (Siwamurti) — transcendental state of anger which Siwa may assume (Smaradahana, 292).

Sri (Sri) — rice-goddess. She takes on the form of Drupadi (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 90).

Sudesna (Sudesnā) — (C.71) wife of Maksyapati, king of Wirata (Wirata-parwa, 72).

Sukasarana (Sukasarana) — (C.72) ogre and adviser to Rawana (Ramayana, 224).

Sumbadra (Subhadrā) — daughter of Basudéwa and so, the sister of Baladéwa and Kresna. She becomes Arjuna's wife (Adiparwa, 71).

Supraba (Suprabhā) — heavenly nymph, widadari, who tries to seduce the meditating Arjuna. Later she helps him kill the demon Niwatakawaca. She is one of the seven nymphs with whom Arjuna enjoys marital bliss in heaven (Arjuna-Wiwaha, 234-7).

Suratma — (C.73) gatewatcher and servant of Yama, god of the dead. He is one of the guardians of the crossroads between heaven and hell. In Bimaswarga, Bima fights him before obtaining his father's soul from hell (Stutterheim, 1958, 121).

Surya (Sūrya) — sun-god and genitor of Karna (Adiparwa, 70).

Suryakasa — (C.74) son of Bima, unknown to me from the texts.

Sutasoma — son of Mahaketu, king of Astina. He is an incarnation of a Bodhisattwa. Through his great purity and compassion he converts the demon king Porusada (man-eater) and Kala, initiating them into the holy law, darma (Sutasoma, 329-41).

Suwanda — prime minister of Arjuna Sahasrabau (Ramawijaya, 403).

Tantipala — (C.75) Sahadéwa in disguise as cowherd at the court of the king of Wirata (Wirataparwa, 72).

Tunggal — (C.76) Tunggal (B: unity), also called Acintya (S: he who cannot be imagined), is the supreme god. Ensink suggests that although his name Acintya is Sanskrit in origin, he seems to stand apart from the Siwa-Buddhist pantheon of gods and may be a god of pre-Hindu Balinese religion (Ensink, 1961, 423-4).

Udawa (Uddhawa) — prime minister of Kresna (Hariwangsa, 253).

Utangka (Uttangka) — a brahmana priest who proposes to Janamejaya, son of Parikesit, to perform the snake sacrifice to avenge the death of his father (Adiparwa, 68).

Utara (Uttara) — (C.77) son of the king of Wirata. He is killed in the Bratayuda (Bratayuda, 280).

Utari (Uttarī) — daughter of the king of Wirata and sister of Séta, Utara and Sangka. She becomes the wife of Abimanyu (Wirata-parwa, 73-4).

Ulupuy — (C.78) daughter of the serpent king Korawya. She becomes the wife of Arjuna (Partayana, 384).

Wabruwahana (Wabhruwāhana) — son of Citraganda by Arjuna (Partayana, 384).

Weranala (Wṛhannla) — (C.79) Arjuna in disguise as an eunuch who teaches music and dancing to the princesses at the court of the king of Wirata (Adiparwa, 72).

Wibisana (Wibhīṣaṇa) — (C.80) brother of Rawana, but he goes over to Rama's side (Ramayana, 222-4).

Wilmuka — (C.81) grotesque bird. Boma uses him as his vehicle when fighting Kresna on Garuda (Hardjowirogo, 1968, 109).

Windusegara — (C.82). son of Bima,. unknown to me from the texts.

Wisnu (Wiśnu) — Kresna and Rama are incarnations, avatara, of the god. (Bismaparwa, 78 and Ramayana, 223, respectively). In Bali, Wisnu is the god of water who is associated with north in the nine-fold division of the cosmos, nawa-sanga, (Swellengrebel 1960, 50-1) and the propitious direction to the mountain lakes in the interior, or kaja (Hobart M., 1978, 6).

Wisnumurti (Wiśnumurti) — (C.83) also called Butasiyu tengawan, the thousand-fold ogre of the right in my fieldwork area; or the great pamurtian (McPhee, 1970, 192). He represents the transcendental state of anger of a god. Kresna takes on this shape in the Udyogaparwa (75-6) after hearing of Duryodana's conspiracy to kill him, and in the Bomantaka (319) when confronting Boma (see also illustrations in Hooykaas, 1971).

Yudistira (Yudhisthira) — (C.84) In Bali more commonly called Darmawangsa:

he who is descended from the god Darma. He is the eldest son of Kunti and Pandu, although his genitor is the god Darma (Adiparwa, 71). He is mild and gentle and does not actively participate in the Bratayuda. Only on Kresna's instigation does he kill Salya with his magical book, Kalimahosada which becomes a flaming javelin (Bratayuda, 251). Because of his purity and compassion for a dog, who in fact is the god Darma, he is the only Pandawa brother to ascend to heaven after the Bratayuda, without leaving behind his body, moksa[8] (Prastanikaparwa, 82).

Yuyutsu — son of Dastarastra and a wèsya wife and so, the half-brother of the hundred Korawas. However, his sympathies are with the Pandawas (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 10 and 23).

The Servants[9]

Baru — male servant of gods and sages, but his role is minor. He may accompany Indra or Narada.

Condong — (C.89) lady-in-waiting attached to the court. She may serve senior satriya women, like Kunti or Jambuwati. She is a lady of easy virtue and enjoys to frolic with the male servants.

Dèlem — (C.87) elder brother of Sangut. His parentage is unknown. He and his brother are said to be hereditary servants of the Korawas in wayang parwa, and Rawana in wayang Ramayana. Although supernaturally powerful, he is stupid, clumsy and bombastic. He loves material wealth and cannot distinguish between right and wrong.

Merdah — (C.86) son of Tualèn. He and his father are the main servants of the Pandawas in wayang parwa, or elsewhere with the side whose actions accord with the will of the gods. He is quick-witted and intelligent and often guides his somewhat childish, elderly father. However, he can

be proud and hard-hearted.

Rana — a simple female servant who usually serves a yonger female satriya, like Drupadi. Her role is very minor.

Sangut — (C.88) younger brother of Dèlem. He is intelligent, shrewd and imaginative. In intelligence he is compared to Merdah. He does not always approve of his elder brother, Dèlem, and is emotionally drawn to the Pandawas as they are relatively virtuous. However, he remains loyal to his masters, the Korawas.

Tualèn — (C.85) main servant of the Pandawas or the otherwise relatively virtuous side. His equivalent is Semar in Java. He is perhaps the single most complex character in the shadow play (see, Chapter on The Servants). His father is often said to be the supreme god, Tunggal. He has no mother, His one son is Merdah. Although he sometimes acts in a foolish and stupid manner, great supernatural power, kesaktian, is associated with him.

Collections comprise other puppets representing characters apart from the ones described above. They are not included as they have no defined personalities or fixed names, ie. soldiers who belong to the wèsya caste and are followers of the satriya (C.90-1), lesser ogres, raksasa bala (C.92-4) and animals (C.95-6). There are also numerous different types of weapons (C.97-104). Because of their importance, however, brief mention should be made of the two scenic items, The Kakayonan (C.105) and Sungsang or Kepuh tree (C.106)[10]. McPhee (1970, 192) describes the latter as a large tree (Eriodendron anfractuosum) sacred to the goddess Durga and growing in most graveyards. Dalangs require it only for special performances, in particular

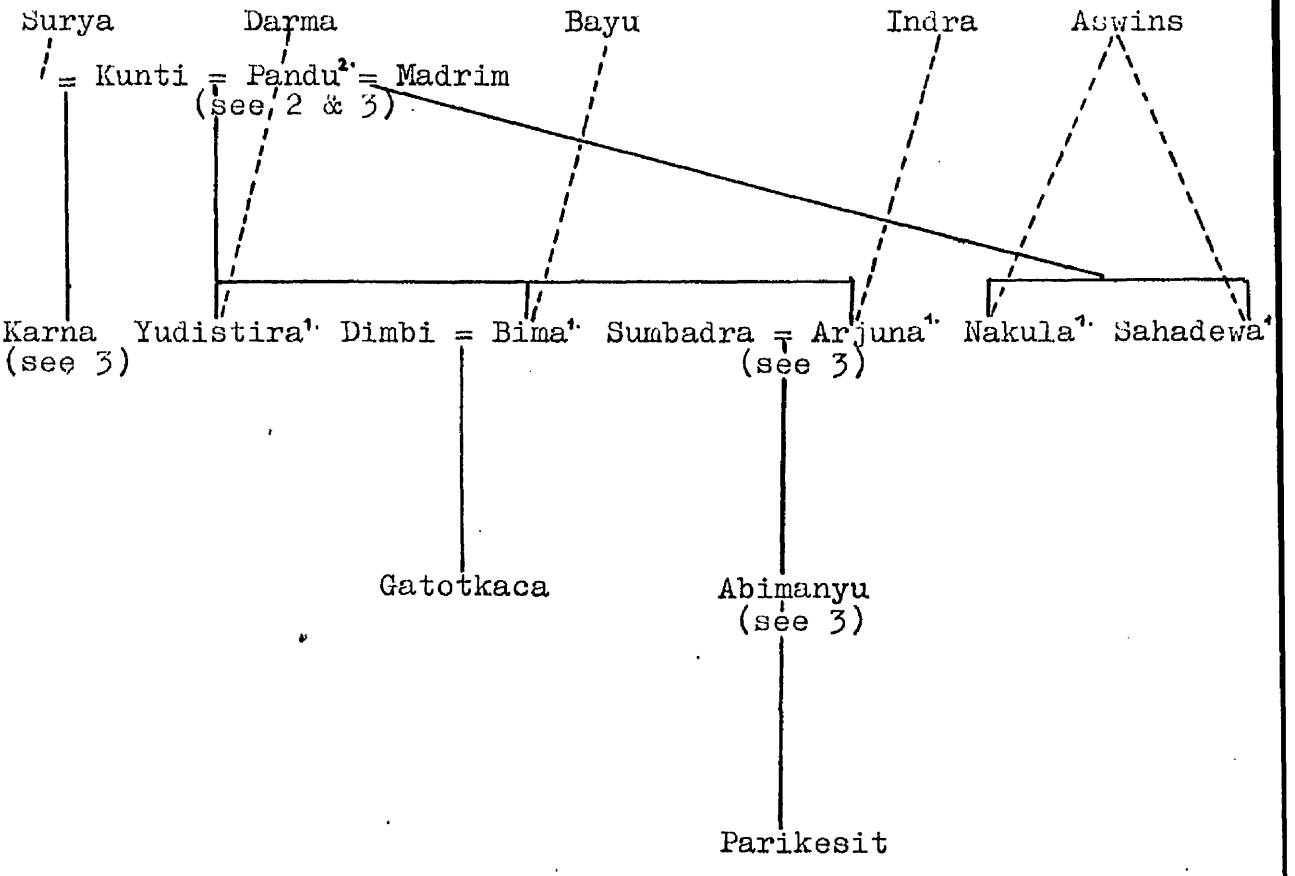
Bimaswarga (Stutterheim, 1956, 138-43). It is then found in hell from where Bima rescues his father Pandu. The Kakayonan can merely be introduced and is described at greater length later (Chapter 6). It symbolizes among other things The Tree of Life. Bosch (1960, 227) refers to it as The Cosmic Tree which represents the divine principle situated in the centre of the universe which produces and sustains all creation and in which all oppositions are resolved.

The literary basis of the performance

Each shadow play performance is characterized by a division on the stage between two groups (see Appendix 5 for illustration of the divisions as perceived by individual dalangs). From the point of view of the performer, or dalang, the more virtuous group, the Pandawas in plays based on the parwa always enter from the right of the stage (ie. to the left of the spectators) while the less virtuous Korawas enter from the left (ie. to the right of the spectators). The analysis here focuses on the Mahabrata for, as was mentioned earlier, stories from this are by far the most frequently performed. Plays drawn from other sources all follow the same rules. So, for example, in wayang Ramayana, Rama's group enter from the right of the dalang and the group of the demon king Rawana from the left. The kin relations mapped out in the texts, in particular the Adiparwa, provide the reasons for uniting members of one group vis-à-vis member of another (see Diagram I). These can be analysed from the short summaries given on each character.

The conflict centres around who succeeds to the throne of Astina, the elder line of Dastarastra or the younger line of Pandu. The brothers Dastarastra, Pandu and Widura are disabled and rule the kingdom jointly. By rights the sons of Dastarastra, the hundred Korawas,

Diagram I. Sheet 1.
The Protagonists in the Bratayuda: the Pandawa

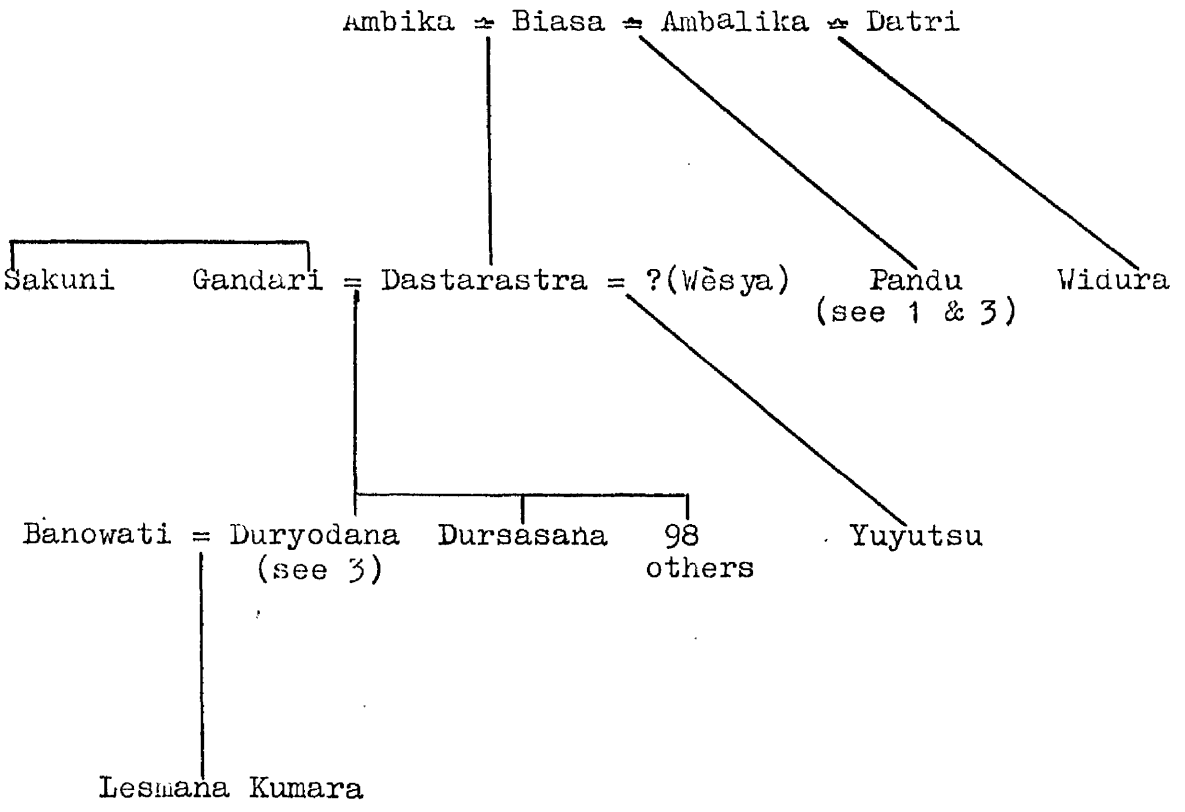


Notes:

1. The five legitimate Pandawa brothers collectively marry Drupadi. Arjuna has a number of wives apart from Drupadi and Sumbadra (see 2), but his most important descendants are from his union with Sumbadra.
2. The earliest generation shown in this Diagram is that of Pandu's genitor, Biasa (see 2). Although earlier ones are mentioned in the parwa my informants did not know the relationships between them; they are also not represented by the puppets.

--- indicates the genitor (in each case a god according to the Adi-parwa) where he is not the social father.

Diagram I. Sheet 2.
The Protagonists in the Bratayuda: the Korawas

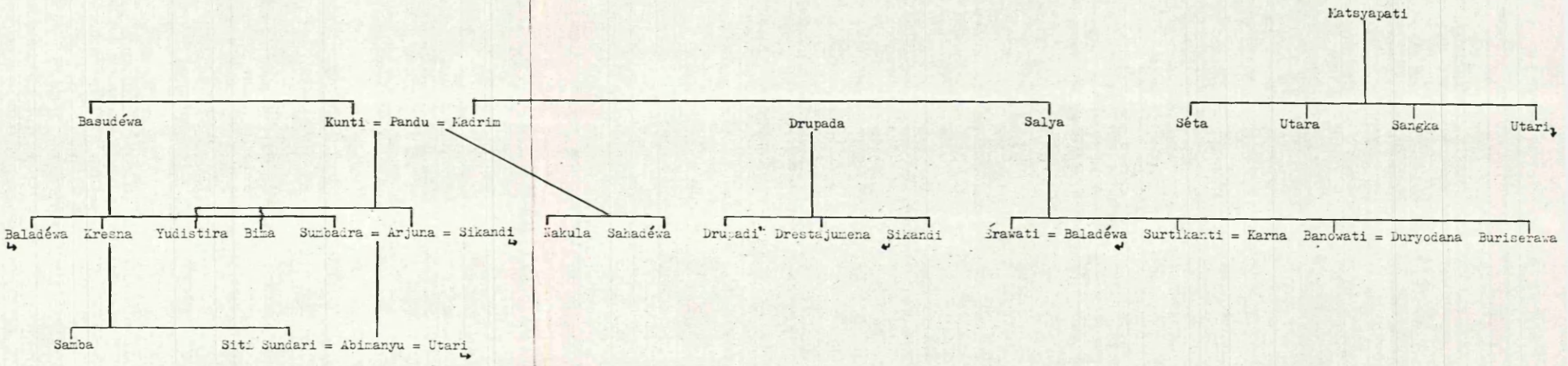


Notes:

≐ impregnates

Anderson (1965, 60) shows Dastarastra, Pandu and Widura as full brothers of a single union between Biasa and Ambalika. According to the Adiparwa (Widyatmanta, 1958, 144-6) Biasa impregnates three different women. So the source of conflict is not between full siblings, but the classic Balinese rivalry between sons of different mothers. Widura is here of less consequence as Datri is low caste; Ambika and Ambalika are satriya.

Diagram 1. Sheet 3.
Marriage Alliances to Powerful Kings



Notes:

1. The five Pandawa brothers collectively marry Drupadi.
2. In placing Matsyapati I have followed Hardjowirogo ~~(1968, 21)~~.

↪ indicates that the person is shown elsewhere in the diagram.

have first claim to the throne, as their father is the eldest son of the senior queen Ambika. However, the five Pandawa brothers begotten by gods are more suitable rulers. The problem is compounded by Bisma pointing out that Yudistira should be the heir as he was born before Duryodana (Widyatmanta, Adiparwa II, 1958, 9). This is contested by Dastarastra who suggests dividing the kingdom and giving Yudistira sovereignty over Indraprasta. Duryodana refuses to accept his father's advice (Adiparwa, 71). The core of each side develops from Dastarastra and Pandu respectively.

The divisions are emphasized by specific women in each group. They are instrumental in adding fuel to the initial conflict. Bima takes up Drupadi's vow that she will not rest before she washes her hair in Darsasana's blood in order to avenge his mistreatment of her. Banowati, the wife of Duryodana, is secretly in love with Arjuna. This infuriates Aswatama who realizes that she humiliates the king of Astina by her lack of love for him. Buriserawa's hatred of the Pandawas is related to his deep love for Sumbadra, Arjuna's wife.

Direct descendants and wives side automatically with the family into which they are born or have married. The Pandawa group comprise various sons and wives. The Korawas, on the other hand, are primarily made up of the hundred brothers. Of these three to eight are usually represented in a collection. More distant satriya or subsidiary males are mainly related to either the Pandawa or Korawa group through marital and kin ties (Diagram 1:3). For example, Baladéwa and Kresna are first cousins to the Pandawa brothers as their father's younger sister is Kunti, mother of Yudistira, Bima and Arjuna. Drupada's alliance to the Pandawas is strengthened by his daughters Drupadi and Sikandi marrying the five Pandawa brothers and Arjuna respectively. Male descendants, such as Samba or Drèstajumena in turn follow their fathers and are allies of the Pandawas.

Already in the literature a few satriya have clearly ambiguous positions. This is especially striking with Salya or Karna. Salya (Diagram 1:3) is related to the Pandawas through his sister Madrim who is the mother of Nakula and Sahadéwa. His daughter, Banowati, however, married Duryodana. The situation is compounded by the marriages made by his other daughters, Érawati becomes the wife of Baladéwa while Surtikanti the wife of Karna. Salya's role in the literature and drama reflects his feelings which are split between both camps. Karna, although he is the eldest son of Kunti, allies himself with the Korawas. He is hurt by his mother having abandoned him out of shame that he was born illegitimate. He also remains loyal to Duryodana who has befriended him.

Performances based on the parwa may incorporate a few satriya who are external to them. Dalangs link them to a given group on the grounds of suitability. So, Cédi and Pratipa, who have important roles in Bomantaka in aiding the demon king Boma, may enter the Bratayuda to help the Korawas. In the same way, the charioteer Daruki may side with the Pandawas.

In contrast to the alliances established between satriya which are principally based on marital and kin ties, priests and teachers often associate themselves with the Korawas on religious grounds. Bisma in his past incarnation offended the gods and as a consequence was forced to back the Korawas in the war[3]. The bitter feud between Drona and Drupada is based on caste differences[5]. Biasa, the grandfather of the Pandawa and Korawa brothers, has the least defined position in the literature, although in performances he enters from the right of the dalang, on the side of the Pandawas.

Most of the gods are associated in performances with the Pandawas. From the Balinese point of view it is appropriate that they should support them. Besides representing ideally the most developed spiritual state, many of the gods are directly related to them either by virtue of being their genitors, as in the case of the Pandawa brothers, or by taking on the forms of senior satriya as, for instance, Baladéwa and Kresna. Brahma and Durga, because of their association in Bali with supernatural power for evil, and the demonic forces (Weck, 1937, 189), side with the Korawas.

The connection between the ogres, raksasa, and Korawas is not immediately as apparent as that between the gods and the Pandawas. Ogres, who are known by name, appear in a variety of texts, in particular the Ramayana. However in performances based on wayang parwa they are active allies of the Korawas taking part in the Bratayuda. In the Swargarohanaparwa it is pointed out that the hundred Korawa are incarnations of demons and ogres, détya, danawa and raksasa. So they are conceived to have character affinity with all ogres[11].

The servants stand apart from the other characters as they do not enter the great epics. The oral literature, on the other hand, tells of the origin of Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut and explains their allegiance to either camp (see Chapter 7). The gods have decreed that Tualèn and Merdah serve the Pandawas. Tualèn is also often thought to be descended from a god. Dèlem and Sangut are generally considered hereditary servants of the Korawas.

It seems that the division of the stage during the performance is influenced by the Balinese conception of the classical literature and oral tradition. A dichotomy between the two groups is strictly adhered to during a performance: most of the gods, high castes of the Pandawa

group, Tualèn and Merdah enter from the right of the dalang to oppose the high castes of the Korawa group, ogres, Dèlem and Sangut who enter from the left.

We shall see however that while the literature deeply influences the shadow play, it does not fully explain other relevant visual and dramatic aspects. So, in the next chapters I shall turn to the iconographic tradition and first to the process of craftsmanship itself.

Notes:

1. The eight parwa are: Adiparwa, Wirataparwa, Udyogaparwa, Bismaparwa, Asramawasaparwa, Mosalaparwa, Prastanikaparwa and Swargarohanaparwa. For a summary of their contents, see Zoetmulder, 1974, 68-98.

2. In order to ensure harmony between the five brothers it is agreed that she should be circulated between them; each should have exclusive rights of sleeping with her for five nights without interference from the others. Arjuna violates this agreement by rushing into the room when Yudistira and Drupadi are making love, in search of a thief. As a result he is banished into the woods for twelve years (Widyatmanta, Adiparwa II, 1958, 90 and 101-2).

3. Bisma is forced to support the Korawas because of actions in his past incarnation as Prabata. In brief, Prabata steals Siwa's sacred cow, Nandini, from the ascetic Wasista. His wife desires its milk for a friend as it bestows longevity. As a result Wasista decrees that he should be incarnated on earth. There he would remain celibate (hence his name Bisma) and would have to support the Korawas (Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa I, 127-8).

4. Dorokalas are found in most descriptions of the Land of Death (Hooykaas, J., 1955, 249). In the modern Balinese folktale Poor-Boy, the crossroads are described as consisting of three roads: one to the east in the direction of the mountains and the forefathers, one to the west and straight down to the sea and hell, and one to the parents and siblings on earth (Hooykaas, J., 1955, 241-2). It is further suggested that the crossroads are found by a high mountain pass in 'Life Hereafter' (Hooykaas, J., 1956, 77).

5. As the story is involved it is only gone into in very brief. In their youth Drona and Drupada are close friends. They then part company. Drona's early life proves difficult as he is forced to beg for a living. After some time has elapsed he hears that Drupada has become king of Pancala. He goes to him and on the strength of their former friendship requests food. Drupada refuses saying it is improper for a king to help a poor and stupid brahmana. Drona departs in fury. (Widyamanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 24-7).
   My informants considered both parties to have behaved incorrectly: Drupada should not have refused to help a brahmana and former friend and Drona should not have departed in anger for, in the words of the Balinese "even if faeces are given, flowers should be returned."

6. According to dalangs the five Pandawa represent the five senses as follows: Yudistira = hearing, Bima = feeling, Arjuna = sight, Nakula = taste and Sahadéwa = smell. Each sense is related to dominant traits perceived. Yudistira desires to hear no evil and thinks ill of no man. Arjuna enjoys looking at beautiful women. Bima is tempestuous. Nakula is fluent with words which requires the use of the tongue. Sahadéwa is said to be an indigenous medico-ritual practitioner, balian, - one who smells many herbs as he requires these for his medicines. Ulbricht (1970, 26) in discussing the shadow play in Java, correlates the five senses somewhat differently: Yudistira = smell, Bima = hearing, Arjuna = sight, Nakula = feeling, and Sahadéwa = taste.

7. Sikandi (Srikandi) is generally said to be an hermaphrodite. Dalangs say that an ogre gives her a phallus after which she becomes a male.

8. van der Tuuk (1897) translates moksa as to be liberated from having to assume bodily form again. My informants pointed out that three types of moksa are recognised in Bali: to die without leaving behind the body (like Yudistira);

to cremate oneself with the strength of one's thoughts; and to leave behind the body without having been ill and to know when the time has come to die.

9. Hinzler (1975, 50) mentions that puppet collections in north Bali include sons of Tualĕn and his wife; also servants of Gatotkaca and Hanuman.

10. Both McPhee (1970, 192) and Hinzler (1975, 45) refer to this figure by the name Kepuh tree. In my area the name Sungsang (meaning upside down; see Hooykaas, 1973a, 291) was usually used.

11. According to Uhlenbeck (1964, 126) the Swargarohanaparwa is the only parwa not yet translated. One of my informants, I Ewer, translated this section of the book for me and explained its meaning. His translations have always proven reliable when crosschecked on other occasions.

Chapter 3. The Making of Puppets

Craftsmen have an established place in Balinese society even though they are not recognized as a separate group. Each craftsman is designated according to his craft. So a puppet-maker is referred to as tukang wayang, craftsman of puppets. Ideally, puppets and other artistic objects are made by brahmana. In correspondence with caste duty, darma, religious, literary and artistic matters are their prerogative. In practice, however, puppet-makers are for the most part sudra.

Puppets are usually made by specialised craftsmen; a few may also be produced by dalangs. Most craftsmen make a variety of artistic objects such as masks, headdresses for the romantic operetta, or statues, and do not restrict themselves to puppets alone. As new puppets are carved from an existing model, the puppet-maker is in the first instance a technician. Excellence lies in the precision of the copy and the subtle beauty of his chiselwork and painting in producing a fixed form. A puppet craftsman should be seen as a guardian of a cultural tradition in which his role is subordinated to that of socially dictated ideals.

The art of making puppets is always directly passed on from one generation to the next. Craftsmen learn from an established puppet-maker who may or may not be their kinsman, to whom they are apprenticed for some two to five years. During this time, trainees assist their masters by running general errands and undertaking rudimentary jobs like preparing the hide for the puppets or grinding the colours. It is also from these teachers that the religious regulations of the craft are learnt.

The financial gain from making puppets is limited, and craftsmen rarely live off their craft; they are primarily sustained by their rice fields. The demand for a new collection or even single puppets is small. Puppets, if well kept, can last for at least a hundred years. Dalangs are also careful with their collections which are sacred heirlooms of the family.

The motive for becoming a craftsman is neither fame nor posterity; self-aggrandisement and pride are, in any case, strongly disapproved of in Balinese society. In making puppets the craftsman fulfils the requirements not only ofaa particular dalang or a court, who often commissioned them, particularly in the past, but also the community for whom theatrical performances are given. Nonetheless, the craftsman's role especially if he is skilled, carries with it a certain respect as he is associated with the traditional arts. In general though a dalang and other artisans, such as a maker of masks for mythical animals, barong, or the masked dance, enjoy more prestige; the former for his literary and religious knowledge, the latter for his greater technical expertise.

Although the forms of puppets follow a fixed scheme laid down by an apparently age-old tradition and scope for innovation is severely limited, craftsmen are sensitive to aesthetic appeal. Within the framework of the craft, definite standards are sought. The suitable qualities of a new puppet as defined by one craftsman of repute are:

> "Heed is first given to the form. Then the carving should be considered; it should be flat, smooth and graceful. Afterwards, the colours should be correctly applied. It is pleasing if they glow. Such a puppet has guna."[1]

Guna is an essential attribute of puppets and, in the context of the shadow play, is best translated as a magical device which compels and sustains the attention of the audience during a performance. Guna

accumulates with age; so old puppets have more and are preferred to new ones. The same craftsman explained that "the puppets are modelled on man enabling the dalang to speak through them." Although puppets are stylized, he held it to be essential that their forms be based on the human form, for how otherwise could a dalang empathize with their characters? He added somewhat wryly that a Balinese dalang would be perplexed if asked to handle Javanese puppets as they are so exaggerated and contorted.

However, not only craftsmen but also Balinese villagers, in particular dalangs, perceive aesthetic qualities in puppets. It is claimed that a beautiful puppet receives instant recognition. Generally, it seems to be agreed that the eyes and the headdress are the most important parts. The eye must be sensitively cut to reveal expression; the position of the headdress must be correct - either upright or at an angle - as it is the main item indicating the status of a character. The bushiness of the side-burn is also a matter of some concern; it helps show whether a face is oval and delicate or broad and heavy. Least attention is given to the dress.

The following account of how puppets are made is primarily based on the work of I Wayan Raos, the most celebrated craftsman in the area in which I worked and recognised for his technical skill and religious knowledge. His procedures were checked against three other craftsmen in Gianyar.[4] The techniques of other puppet-makers differ little from those of Raos and will be referred to in footnote. Raos is unusually explicit and precise in the religious regulations to which he adheres. Although all craftsmen are bound by the demands of the

tradition, the majority are less knowledgeable or concerned with the religious background of puppet construction.

The religious background to puppet-making

The ritual attitude towards puppet-making emerges clearly in the ceremonies and offerings which accompany their construction, and which are strictly adhered to when making an entirely new puppet collection. There is somewhat more latitude allowed in making one or a few figures which require simple and irregular offerings. The two largest ceremonies are performed before the craftsman sets out to carve a new set of puppets and on its completion; the latter involves a brahmana priest.

Before beginning a new collection, Raos places offerings on a small shrine asagan, consisting of a wooden pole with a split bamboo platform which has occasionally to be renewed. This is set in front of the entrance, pemedal, to the household temple. Although the shrine is just outside the household temple, it is also situated 'to the mountain' or kaja, - east, kangin, which is the combination of the ritually propitious directions. The Balinese offerings form an extremely complex system of agreed, but unascertained, significance(for an introduction, see Hooykaas, J, 1961), based for the most part on the use of natural substances. It is not the aim of the thesis to discuss offerings, which is a subject in itself. In order to give an idea of the complexity of the beliefs associated with them however I have included Raos attributed to those used before beginning a new collection (see Table I).

Table I. Significance of offerings

Name of offering:	Exegesis:	Translation:
1 daksina*	Nunas penugrahan ring Bagawan Siwakarma.	To ask the god Siwakarma to favour him (Raos
1 nasi kepelan	Rayunan ring Bagawan Siwakarma.	Food for the god Siwakarma.
1 segahan*	Rayunan ring buta.	Food for the demons.
1 canang pengeraos	Mangda Bagawan Siwakarma mekayun ngeraos ring wayang-wayang sami, yening asapuniki wayang dados idup.	So that the god Siwakarma may wish to speak (A: ngeraos) through the puppets in order for them to come to life.

* For photographs of daksina (which Hooykaas labels as a fee, for the the welcoming of the gods) and segehan, see Hooykaas, C, 1977, 19 and 48b.

Raos pointed out that these offerings are principally for Siwakarma the son of Siwa, who protects all craftsmen. However, in the Sanskrit texts, silpasastra, it is Wiswakarma who protects builders and sculptors (Bosch, 1923, 67), and who is the architect of the gods (van der Tuuk, 1897). Raos may have confused the two gods because of the similarity of their names, but, on the other hand, there may be variation in the gods that local craftsmen invoke. The demons are also given food so that they do not disturb his work.

In order to complete the ceremony, the offerings are then lustrated with pure water, yeh anyar, and purificatory water, toya penglukatan. The part of the ceremony to do with lustration is interpreted as "a request to Wisnu to purify the craftsman and to Siwakarma to descend, and to beg the pardon of Siwa for any mistakes that may be made"[5]

while making the puppets.

Apart from this ceremony, each day until the collection is finished small fresh offerings[6] are placed on the shrine and sprinkled with pure water. One additional offering, pebresihan, meaning literally to cleanse (from bresih), is given every full moon, purnama, and new moon, tilem; (on holidays and holy days, see Goris, 1960, 124-5). Throughout, the main concern of the craftsman is to ensure that he is in a state of ritual, and spiritual, purity; only then will the puppets be of a high standard and cast clear silhouettes on the screen. Finally, after all the puppets have been made, they have to be consecrated by a brahmana priest. The ceremony, called mepasupati,[7] takes place either in the home of the priest or the household temple of the craftsman. This is the last rite performed so that the puppets are sacred, tenget,[8] and pure. It is relevant to note here that a dalang should consecrate any new puppets he buys and adds to his set. For the sake of convenience, this often takes place together with the ceremony of ngulapin which, among other things, is performed at the installation of a new building in the house compound.

The religious tradition is also evident in the construction of the puppets. Before starting work, Raos waits for the day before the night of the full moon which is said to be imbued with loveliness, clarity and purity. The light of the moon expresses the sweetness of the goddess Ratih, the consort of Kama, the god of love; it is a soft subdued white, lumlum gading, a colour like that of the flesh of the salak fruit. Figuratively it is also at this time that the heavenly nymphs, widadari, come to bathe so that they are ritually pure. A collection begun on this day will tend to reflect the qualities associated with full

moon.

The first thirteen puppets are carved in a fixed order which shows something of their significance. The first figure is the Kakayonan, followed by Tunggal, Siwa, the four principal servants and lastly, Kresna and the five Pandawa brothers. As Raos considers the five Pandawa to be of equal importance to their mentor, Kresna, there is no over-riding priority in their making. The order of the subsequent puppets is not definite. In general though, the ogres are left until the end as they are thought of as demonic and low in character.

Raos thought there to bea semantic link between (Ka)kayon(an) and kayun;[9] the high Balinese word for to think. He explained that the Kakayonan is the first puppet to be carved "because the Kakayonan signifies one's thoughts so that one can make all the other puppets well."[10] He conceives of the Kakayonan as his first creative act. The figure mirrors his mind; if it is beautiful all the others will be of excellent quality. Having cut the Kakayonan, he next turns to Tunggal and Siwa, the two most important gods portrayed. Tunggal is the supreme god. Siwa is at the centre of the cosmic system, i.e. the five-fold division, pañca déwa, or nine-fold division of the cosmos, nawa-sanga (see Chapter 5).

The servants, pandasar, the base or basic ones, are the first puppets made who belong in a sense to the human world. They are so called because they are said to be the basis of kingship, nasarin pereratu. This is elaborated in the following saying: you can not build a house without a foundation gaé umah sing dadi sing pandasar(B). Although they are common villagers, they stand out in the shadow play as the most faithful followers of the satriya for whom they would be prepared to die satya(S). In brief the Balinese say that without servants

a kingdom can not exist; it is evident therefore that they must precede the satriya. Also they personify the gods of the cardinal points, East, South, West and North, and further represent the limitation of man's knowledge (see Chapter 7).

The order in which Raos makes the puppets, as emerges still more clearly later, is indicative of the value he, and more generally the Balinese, give to them.

Specialist tools

Raos obtains his tools from a blacksmith who lives in the same village, but he himself files the steel blades to his liking. There are two types of chisels: pet pengerancap and pet pemuka. Raos possesses about fifteen of each, The first type are primarily used for detaching the puppet from its surrounding hide and incising designs on the leather. They come in five different sizes, with the cutting edge ranging from about 1 to 5mm. in thickness. The second type have slightly curved blades and are employed for much of the intricate lacework. They come in three groups, small, cenik, medium, menangah, and large, gedé, ranging from 1 to 9 mm.

Raos strikes the chisels with a mallet on a roughly-hewn block on which the hide is laid. Both mallet and block are made from the wood of the klagi (?) tree, said to be one of the hardest woods in Bali.

For painting, Raos uses a variety of different brushes which he constructs himself. The hair of the brushes is either cat or goat, but the former is generally preferred as it is soft and pliable. The handles of the brushes are of bamboo. The hair for the brush is firmly tied to the end of the handle with strands of hair from the outer skin of a banana stem. Raos distinguishes two types of brushes: all the delicate

painting, in particular the lines, are done with a fine brush which tapers to a point, while the larger areas of the puppet are coloured with a thicker, bushier brush.

The preparation of the hide

The craftsman uses only hide from a cow for the making of puppets. This is considered more suitable than bull's hide, which is weak and liable to crack. Only a butcher is allowed to skin animals. He also makes the requisite offerings after the meat has been divided up and distributed. The removed skin is then dried on a frame for three days. Raos obtains it in this raw state, and he and the male members of his family further prepare it until it is ready to be used for puppet making.

Hides come in two colours: a yellowish pink or blackish brown. Raos favours the former as it is suitable for all puppets, especially those with refined characters who have pale body colours. Raos avoids buying a very light hide as the whitish tone shimmers through, preventing the final body colour from being clear and smooth. A puppet cut from such a light hide is always given a complete first coat of black paint.

The hide has to be carefully prepared before it is ready to use. It is first soaked in the river for three days and then dried for three days more. During this time it is pulled taut on a wooden frame by straps extending from holes around its entire edge, made from unwanted parts of the hide. While still on the frame, the hide is scraped with a small knife until all the hair is removed and the hide levelled to an even thickness. Afterwards, the hide is soaked for one more day and, while wet, it is cleaned and scrubbed, first with the inside husk of a coconut and then with the stalks of freshly threshed rice plants. In this

way the oil and grease are removed. Finally, it is once more dried, after which it is ready for use.

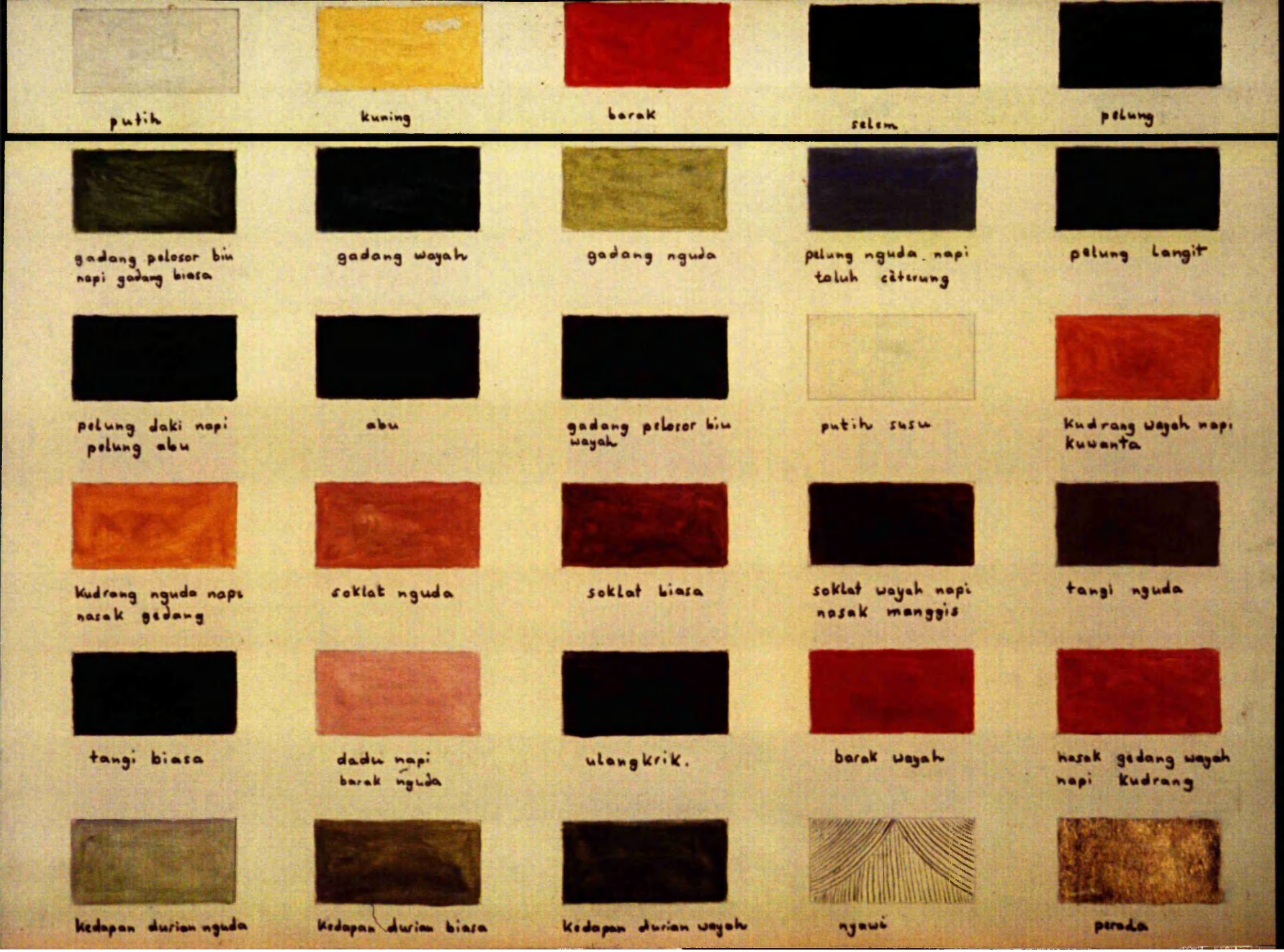
Before cutting out the puppets he selects an appropriate piece of the hide for each specific figure. Refined characters are made of somewhat finer, thinner hide than servants, animals or ogres. The texture chosen corresponds to the type, whether refined and delicate, alus, or gross and powerful, kasar.

The making of the colour pigments

Balinese craftsmen distinguish basic, pengawak warna, from combined colours, warna sané sampun madokan (Diagram I). All craftsmen use five basic colours: white, red, yellow, black and blue. Ochre may also be used. The five main ingredients are mixed in varying proportions to produce different combined colours.

Gold leaf, prada, should also be mentioned in the context of colour. Although it stands apart from the others and, in contrast to Java (see Mellema, 1954, 58-63), is never used on the bodies of puppets, it is frequently depicted on the dress and ornaments of major characters. Most craftsmen, however, use gold-leaf sparingly as it is the most costly colour. (Gold leaf for two to three puppets was Rp. 2,700).

Some of the ingredients for making colour pigments are indigenous to Bali, other are Chinese in origin.[11] White, black and ochre are always made in Bali, but this may or may not apply to yellow. Chinese yellow or orpiment, atal,[12] is preferred to the indigenous yellow because of its liminosity. White is derived from certain animal bones, black from soot, ochre and Balinese yellow from stones, known as batu peré.



Pengawak warna

Warna sa sampu madoKo

These are found on the small island of Serangan in a bay to the south of Bali. Traditionally, special craftsmen made blue from the indigo plant, bujana. The hamlet Rakan, near Klungkung, was formerly famous for its indigo production. However, this skill has largely died out and Chinese blue is now usually used as a substitute.[13] Red, kèncu, which is probably Chinese vermilion[14], and gold leaf, like orpiment and Chinese blue, are imported from Singapore and Hong Kong.

The preparation of one colour, in this case ochre, illustrates the making of the basic colours. First some fish glue, hancur, also Chinese in origin, is soaked in water. The glue comes in the form of small, thin rectangular pieces which are hygroscopic and readily soluble. The stone, batu peré, is ground successively three times in a rough earthenware dish to which a small amount of water is added, ensuring that the colour will adhere to the puppet. The paste is then scooped up with a firm, broad leaf and scraped onto a stone where some chalk is added, giving the colour its glow. The paste is ground again for about one hour, after which it is ready for use. The craftsman has to apply the paint to the puppet within the first two days of being made as after this it crumbles and loses its brightness. All the five basic colours are essentially prepared this way. Only indigo, Chinese blue and yellow do not require chalk as it is thought to destroy their life.

The making of black, blue and white requires particular skill at the initial stages. Black is derived from soot, mangsi, traditionally obtained from an earthenware lamp, coblong, fuelled by coconut-oil. The soot settles on the dry bark of the areca-nut, suspended over the wick of the lamp. Sometimes now a paraffin lamp is used.

Indigo used to be favoured for its deep violet-blue lustre. It is time-consuming and difficult to produce, and even in the past was used sparingly. However, it was requisite for spiritually elevated characters such as Siwa or Kresna. Indigo was derived from plants of the genus Indigofera. Raos was still able to describe the process of making it. The leaves and some of the bark of the plant are boiled in water. Afterwards, the liquid is squeezed out of the plant material which is left to ferment. The precipitate is strained and pressed. It is important that it has a foam-like consistency. In this stage it is left out to dry for about two days. It is then sold in the form of small, hard blocks.

White is obtained from three types of bones. Deer horn is considered to produce the most attractive colour as it has a soft yellowish or pinkish glow, putih gading. More commonly, white pigment is made from chicken bones or the skull of a female pig. Bones from other parts of the pig are unsuitable as the colour is said to be dirty, daki.

All the combined colours are derived from the five basic ones. Raos uses a wide range of these - twenty-three combined colours, (see Diagram I). These gradate from subdued, light tones described as 'cool,' etis, for example, light blue or light green, to vivid or 'hot' panas, ones, such as dark red or dark brown. The amount of white in a combined colour mainly determines whether it is cool, while the amount of red or black whether it is hot.

Any number from two to all five basic colours may be mixed in different proportions to produce the combined ones. It is impossible to fix the exact quantity of a basic colour required. The varying consistency of the paint and the different types of materials which form their

basis prevents a precise calculation of the amounts used. In Raos's terms, the proportions are defined as a little, abedik, medium, sedeng, and much, liyu. Table II shows the proportions for the full range of combined colours that Raos employs. Raos is careful to keep to these amounts because of the significance placed on the five basic colours (see Chapter 5).

A combined colour is made, for example, by adding a large amount of Chinese yellow in the form of powder to a small amount of blue in its state as liquid paste to produce light green.

Ideal system of measurement

Puppets are said to be designed according to an ideal system of measurement and Raos regards it as an important guideline. A problem however, arises as these measurements seem to correspond neither to a sample of puppets from Raos's collection nor to other examples that were studied. The measurements also do not fit characters in wayang forms found on temple reliefs or paintings. Nonetheless they are included here as they may reflect a traditional system now lost.

Balinese are very aware of space which, in their view, is ordered according to definite classificatory principles (on Balinese conceptions of space, see Hobart, M, 1978, 5-22). It is not unsurprising that specific regulations relate to the designs of buildings (Soebadio, 1975) and that similar rules underlie puppet forms. An ideal fixed system also indicates a view of the human body as a well-ordered representation of the macrocosm (Weck, 1937, 234-44; Hooykaas, 1973b, 4).

Table II. Proportions for the Combined Colours

	Balinese name of colour:	English equivalent: *	Proportions used: small	moderate:	large
1.	abu	grey		black, white	
2.	barak nguda	light red (pink)		red, white	
3.	barak wayah	dark red	black		red
4.	gadang biasa	mid-green	blue	yellow	
5.	gadang nguda	light green	blue		yellow
6.	gadang wayah	dark green	black	yellow	blue
7.	gadang pelosor biu wayah	blackish green	black	blue, yellow	
8.	kedapan durian biasa	mid-olive green		blue, red, white	yellow
9.	kedapan durian nguda	light-olive green	red	yellow	white
10.	kedapan durian wayah	dark olive green		yellow, blue, red	
11.	kudrang biasa	mid-orange		red, yellow	
12.	kudrang nguda	light orange	white	red, yellow	
13.	kudrang wayah	dark orange	yellow	red	
14.	pelung langit	mid-blue	white	blue	
15.	pelung nguda	light blue	blue		white
16.	pelung daki	dark blue	black	blue, white	
17.	putih susu	yellowish white	yellow	white	
18.	soklat biasa	mid-brown	black	red, yellow	
19.	soklat nguda	light brown	black	red	yellow
20.	soklat wayah	dark brown	yellow	black	red
21.	tangi biasa	mid-purple		red, blue	
22.	tangi nguda	light purple	white	red, blue	
23.	ulangkrik	greyish brown	yellow, red black, blue, white		

*The simplest English equivalent of the Balinese colour is used. For other names given to colours and their translation, see charts of colours in Chapter 5; see also Diagram I of the colours.

Raos pointed out that two types of puppets have ideal, fixed measurements: satriya men and gods either with slit, sumpé, eyes or with round, dedelingan, eyes. In contrast, the measurements of all characters, brahmana, women, servants, animals and demons, are unspecified. He must ensure only that women are shorter than men. The relationship of the eyes, nose and mouth to one another is also not definite. These are adjusted according to the craftsman's perception of a visual balance of the face, which is referred to as ngasinang.[15]

The basic unit of measurement of each type of puppet differs. With gods and satriya who have elongated eyes, it is the distance from the highest point visible on the forehead vertically down to the chin. With characters who have round eyes, it is from the outer edge of the nose horizontally past the bottom of the eye to the side-burn. The distances are measured with a strip of bamboo leaf. Certain important proportions of the body are calculated as multiples of these distances.

For the type with elongated eyes the following measurements are used:

under the armpit to the elbow: 1 unit
elbow to wrist: 1 unit
across the chest: 1 unit
waist to the base of the feet: 3 units

Other measurements do not conform to this system. In any event, most figures with elongated eyes wear long dresses which cover all or most of their legs. For the type with round eyes the equivalent measurements are taken:

Under the armpit to the elbow: 1 unit

elbow to wrist: 1 unit

one side of the waist to the other: 1 unit

waist to base of the feet: 3 units

hip to knee: 1 unit

knee to top of the ankle: 1 unit

It is of interest that Raos only applies this system to satriya men and gods. In practice, like other craftsmen, he makes all puppets by copying them from earlier models.

A word should be said here on the models Raos uses. If a puppet from an existing collection needs to be replaced, as damaged or broken, the new one is generally based on the old so that it fits well within the set. On the other hand, if an entirely new collection is made, it is modelled on one renowned for its beauty and magical power, or guna. Two were mentioned in this context. The collection kept in the great temple of Batur, in the district of Bangli, and that of dalang Brata of the hamlet Babakan in Sukawati, who comes from an old established dalang family.

Chisel motifs

During the course of chiselling the puppets, the craftsman uses nine distinct motifs. These convey grace and movement to the figures, in particular to the articles of wear, which appear like delicate lacework when viewed as flickering shadows. Although the motifs are standard, craftsmen are often not acquainted with their names, or differ in their designation of them (c.f. those used by Pink-Wilpert, 1975, 54). In describing the motifs, I have given the names which Raos uses.

1. bubuk biasa (D.1): This consists of short lines which alternate with dotted lines. The number of dots between the lines is not definite and may extend from two to six. This is one of the most common motifs and used to indicate dress folds of the edges of articles of wear whereby they are separated from the body.
2. bubuk cenik (D.2): This is a simple motif consisting of dots set close together to form a continuous line. The motif often ends with a final, short line called tangun bubuk cenik. It is used to show the contours of dress and decorations; sometimes also body lines, for example, neck folds.
3. bubuk pengerancap (D.3): It is either a straight or slightly curved line composed of discontinuous short lines. It may form a chain design, and is principally depicted on the long pendant necklace, but also on parts of the headdress or waist band.
4. util bok (D.4): The whorls of circles or spirals of this motif always imply hair. So it is used for headhair, beards, moustaches or eyebrows.
5. util bangsin (D.5): This is a loosely flowing design consisting of two widely separated parallel rows of discontinuous, slightly curved lines. It can be built up to form complex patterns with the ends of the parallel lines joining. It is only portrayed on the Kakayonan where it represents stones or caves.
6. util punggel (D.6): It is a running scroll motif, reminiscent of curved vines throwing off tendrils and is depicted on the backwing rising past the shoulder and the Kakayonan where it suggests vegetation.
7. punggel (D.7): It is composed of loose curls and curved lines which

frequently radiate out from a centre. The design if found on most jewellery, such as the necklace or clasps for jewels.

8. meduwin pandan (D.8): It is essentially a serrated line, like the edge of a leaf. Patterns on the dress or waist band may be composed of this motif.
9. patra sari (D.9): It is a well-defined floral design and suggests a tiny bud. Such buds may edge the band of the headdress or be the core of large pine-apple shaped fruit on the Kakayonan.

Apart from these nine formal motifs, Raos uses free chiselwork, referred to as ngetas, for instance, on the eyes or the teeth.

The making of a puppet

The process of making a puppett goes through ten distinct stages: copying an old puppet model (B.6); cutting; incising (B.7); painting (B.8); shading with colour; delineating contours and main features of the body; correcting the paintwork; gilding; shading with fine lines; attaching the rods; and varnishing the puppet. Rules relating to religious principles, aesthetic considerations and technical convenience guide the craftsman throughout these stages and will be discussed below.

The dexterity and knowledge required for puppet craftsmanship is best shown by describing the process involved in the making of one puppet. Kresna has been chosen for the purpose. Apart from the Kakayonan, which is distinguished by its intricate internal design, he is visually one of the most complex puppets, based on the human form, and the characteristic method of making puppets is elaborately illustrated by examining him.

1. Copying an old model of Kresna

An old puppet of Kresna or an unpainted puppet is fixed with a few nails to a suitable piece of hide, which in Kresna's case is thin and smooth. The craftsman then holds the relatively transparent hide up to the light and traces the silhouette of the copy onto the hide's surface. He concentrates at this stage only on Kresna's head, torso and legs, which are in one piece, and not the arms which are made separately. The best time for copying is around midday as the shadow is more distinct. The parts of the puppet are drawn in a definite order proceeding from top to bottom. The first feature to be drawn is always the eye. Raos explains that the position of the eye 'stabilizes' the composition, mangda gambar ten obah, and all other parts must harmonize with it.[16] After this, he adds the other facial features, followed by the outline of the head, upper body, legs, and finally the headdress and dress. The details of the dress are merely sketched. While holding the hide in his lap, the craftsman draws over the pencil lines with a pen and Chinese ink. At this stage the puppet excluding the arms, is called wayang ortènan. Raos traces separately Kresna's upper limbs which consist of four pieces: two upper and two lower arms.

II. Cutting and incising

The top of the wayang ortènan is secured with nails to the wooden block and is cut from its surrounding hide. Raos first carves the internal design of Kresna's elegant headdress. After this the narrow elongated eye is chiselled. The teeth and mouth are cut, the upper lip curling up in front suggesting an enigmatic smile. The remaining details of the puppet are then added, from the waist down to the feet.

During the course of chiselling the puppet, the craftsman uses eight motifs, as well as free chiselwork, ngetas. The chiselwork on Kresna (A.7) varies according to the part depicted. The mofits used are laid out in Table III. As Kresna's two principal ornaments, garuda mungkur (A.8), the mythological bird on the headdress, and karang guak (A.9), the bird's head on the girdle, are carved with such intricacy, their motifs are shown separately in Table IV and V respectively.

The arms are then cut from the hide and their ornaments incised. Small holes are punched at the edge of each of the shoulders, the top and bottom of the upper arms, and tops of the lower arms, which are then dipped briefly into water so that they become more plastic. The arms are attached to the torso by inserting small wooden pegs, gelik, through the holes to form the shoulder and elbow joints. The puppet is now known as peputihan metangan.

III Painting

Painting the puppet is intricate work. Although the majority of spectators see only the silhouette during a performance, the colours are painted onto the puppets with great precision (the significance of which will be discussed in Chapter 5). Colour relationship is a matter of careful consideration: darker tones are generally painted before light ones so that the latter retain their clarity. Throughout the process, the two sides of the puppet are painted alternately. In general, all work proceeds from top to bottom and colours are built up one upon another. The entire body is painted in successive coats of colour. On the apparel, however, progressively smaller areas are given coats of different colours.

Table III. The Chiselwork on Kresna, (cf. with illustration of Kresna, A.7).

Balinese name for the part of outfit:	English equivalent:	Chiselwork:
1. mudra mesoca mirah	mudra with ruby	ngetas; punggel
2. pepayasan gelungan mesoca mirah kekalih	decoration of headdress with two rubies	ngetas; punggel
3. ronron	headdress tails	bubuk cenik; bubuk biasa
4. ambed gelungan	band of headdress	bubuk cenik; punggel
5. pepayasan ambed gelungan	decoration of headdress band	punggel
6. penekep gelungan	arc-like band of headdress	bubuk cenik; bubuk pengerancap: punggel
7. pepayasan penekep	decoration of arc-like band	maduwin pandan
8. cuda manik mesoca mirah	cuda manik with ruby	ngetas; punggel
9. sekar taji	upper row of diadem	meduwin pandan
10. patitis	lower row of diadem	bubuk cenik; bubuk pengerancap
11. pepayasan patitis mesoca mirah	decoration of lower row of diadem with ruby	ngetas; punggel
12. pepayasan karna	ear ornament	bubuk cenik; punggel
13. garuda mungkur	garuda ornament	see Table IV.
14. tali garuda mungkur	band of garuda mungkur	bubuk cenik
15. kelat bau	backwing	util punggel

Table III. The Chiselwork on Kresna, (cf. with illustration of Kresna, A.7).

Balinese name for the part of outfit:	English equivalent:	Chiselwork:
16. anting-anting mesoca mirah	ear-ring with ruby	ngetas; punggel
17. badong bau mesoca mirah	necklace with rubies	ngetas; bubuk cenik; punggel
18. sabukwungsel mesoca mirah	long neckband with ruby	ngetas; bubuk pengerancap; punggel
19. gelang kana mesoca mirah	arm bangles with rubies	ngetas; bubuk biasa, bubuk cenik; punggel
20. ali-ali mesoca mirah	finger-ring with ruby	punggel
21. gelang cokor	ankle bangles	bubuk biasa; bubuk cenik
22. karang guak ring gelang cokor	bird's head on ankle bangles	util bok
23. ampok-ampok	girdle	bubuk cenik; bubuk pengerancap; punggel
24. karang guak ring ampok-ampok	bird's head on girdle	see Table V.
25. selimpet mesoca mirah	chest band with ruby	ngetas; bubuk biasa; punggel
26. karang guak ring selimpet	bird's head on chest band	util bok
27. tanggun umpal	tail of waist band	bubuk biasa

Table III. The Chiselwork on Kresna, (cf. with illustration of Kresna, A.7).

Balinese name for the part of outfit:	English equivalent:	Chiselwork:
28. tanggun melancingan	dress tail	bubuk biasa
29. kampuh	waist cloth	ngetas; punggel; bubuk biasa; bubuk cenik; meduwin pandan
30. wastra	dress	ngetas; punggel; bunuk biasa; bubuk cenik; bubuk pengerancap; meduwin pandan
Parts of the Body:		
31. penyurianan	eyes	ngetas
32. lambé	mouth (& teeth)	ngetas; util bok; bubuk pengerancap
33. engkel bau	neck folds	bubuk biasa
34. jerijin	toes	bubuk cenik; bubuk pengerancap
35. caling kidang	side-burn	util bok

Table IV. The Chiselwork on the Garuda Mungkur (cf. with illustration of Garuda Mungkur, A.8)

	Balinese name of part:	English equivalent:	Chiselwork:
1.	larik	eyebrow	util bok
2.	kapèng	cheek hair	util bok
3.	lidah	tongue	punggel
4.	lambé	mouth	bubuk biasa
5.	kumba	horns	bubuk biasa
6.	dangastra	extra teeth	bubuk biasa
7.	penyrianan	eyes	ngetas
8.	ungasan	nose	bubuk biasa
9.	cerawis	moustache	util bok
10.	siung	tusks	ngetas
11.	pepayasan garuda	decoration of garuda mungkur	bubuk biasa; bubuk cenik;

Table V. The Chiselwork on the Karang Guak on the girdle (cf. with illustration of Karang Guak A.9)

	Balinese name of part;	English equivalent;	Chiselwork:
1.	larik	eyebrow	util bok
2.	kapèng	cheek hair	util bok
3.	lidah	tongue	util bok
4.	lambé	mouth	util bok
5.	kumba	horns	util bok
6.	dangastra	extra teeth	bubuk cenik
7.	penyrianan	eyes	ngetas
8.	ungasan	nose	bubuk cenik
9.	cerawis	moustache	util bok
10.	siung	tusks	ngetas

Using a large brush a variable number of coats of colour are applied to carefully specified parts of the puppet. The sequence is fixed as follows:

1. 10 coats of ochre to the entire puppet to prevent the hide from shining through.
2. 2-3 coats of black only to the body.
3. 2-3 coats of Balinese yellow to all ornaments and the apparel. It is suitable to use this yellow as an under-coat as it adheres firmly to the puppet.
4. 5-10 coats of red to the ornaments and apparel: some jewels which represent rubies, the upper headdress tail, patterns on the headdress, diadem, waist band and around the flower designs on the dress.
5. 10 coats of sky blue to the ornaments and apparel: the lower headdress tail, some small jewels and the narrow strip below the waist band.
6. 8-10 coats of ordinary green to the ornaments and apparel: to the lower half of the diadem, a few jewels and the background of the dress.
7. 3-5 coats of Chinese yellow to the apparel: as a strip running along the centre of the diadem, a serpentine line with the tail of the waist band to indicate folds and parts of the dress. Chinese yellow is used at this stage as it has a light, clear tone and is visible on the finished puppet.
8. 3-5 coats of pink to all red ornaments and as edging to the red parts of the dress to soften the stark red areas.
9. 3-5 coats of light blue to ornaments and the apparel: all sky blue areas are edged in light blue.
10. 3-5 coats of white to the ornaments, apparel and body: as tips on the jewels, edging to all light blue and pink areas and to Kresna's

entire body.

11. 2-5 coats of light blue to Kresna's body, leaving the teeth and eye white.

When Raos paints Kresna he is especially careful in applying the body colours. In giving the body two to three coats of black he is concerned above all with the shadow cast by the puppet, which must be sensitive and vital. As a result of the black base, the silhouette of the body is stronger and more distinct against the screen then the costume (B.9). More than three coats of black would make the body appear too solid; it should retain an element of intangibility. The under-coat of white and top-coat of light blue are largely of ritual significance (see Chapter 5). Although the white is not visible it denotes the purity and sublimity of Kresna. The final skin colour of light blue indicates the satriya's relationship with Wisnu who is symbolized as black or blue. The craftsman has more freedom in painting the costume, although the order in which the colours are applied is fixed (see above). He only sees to it that the patterns fit, ngasinang, with the chiselwork. Raos chooses an unusually large range of mixed colours in order to emphasize Kresna's elegance.

IV. Shading with colour

With a fine brush Raos shades parts of the green background of the dress in ulangkrik. No more than two coats are given. Ulangkrik is a mellow, yet rich browny-grey tone, and is produced by mixing all the five basic colours. The dress, on close observation, has thus both texture and depth.

V. Delineating body contours and main body features

The craftsman, using a fine brush, paints a thin line of ulangkrik around the contour of the puppet. Lines also indicate neck folds or joints; the toes, for instance, are now clearly separated from one another. Raos applies ulangkrik, which is softer than black to the facial features. He outlines the lips and eye, inserts the pupil, adds the moustache and edges the side-burn in this colour. The eye is then painted in the following order: yellow, black and white. The ulangkrik pupil is ringed in yellow and black, and the cornea is coloured white. Lastly, the moustache, side-burns, and body lines are made to look more vital with black. (This may also take place after gilding the puppet)

VI. Correcting the paintwork

Correcting the colours is a process which can take place at any time when thought necessary. This is principally after painting and shading the puppet, or after applying gold leaf when the figure tends to become smudged.

VII. Gilding

This is a delicate part of the work. Gold leaf is expensive and the craftsman has to handle it with care as it is thin, soft, easily damaged or blows away. Only Kresna's yellow is gilded. Before adding the gold leaf, the puppet must first be prepared with an under-layer of fish glue, which is made wet and slightly ground, then gradually applied to the puppet. It dries rapidly and must be still damp before placing the gold-leaf on it. Raos pointed out that yellow oil paint is often used today as an under-layer to gold leaf as it is stronger than

glue. The thin sheets of gold leaf are placed face-downwards on the fish glue and then smoothed out with the flattened edge of a thin bamboo stick. As the gold leaf only adheres to those areas with glue, the parts which overlap can be blown away. The gold leaf in the chiselwork is removed by sticking a sharp twig through the holes. The puppet is then left to dry, after which it is polished by sweeping the gilded surface with a dry brush.

VIII. Shading with fine lines

All the ungilded areas of the apparel are shaded with fine, parallel, black lines set close together, nyawi. These follow the flow of the designs and garments, and function as rhythmic shading conveying movement and softness to the dress.

IX. Attaching the rods

The handle, katik, attached to the puppet is made either of buffalo horn or wood kewanitan (?). The latter is more frequently used as it is less expensive than horn, which costs about Rp.350 each, and more easily obtained.[17] The handle is a straight, tapering rod which is split down two-thirds of its length. When the puppet is inserted, the rod extends to the top of the ear. The rod's thicker lower end, protruding below the feet, forms the actual handle. This is the distance of an upright fist with the thumb held straight up and a finger of the other hand horizontally on top, amusti nanggu anyari. The handle ends in a point which can be stuck in the banana stem lying along the base of the screen. The rod is painted yellow and, when dry, the puppet is attached to it with string made of coconut hair

threaded at three or four places through conveniently placed holes in the chiselwork, wound a few times around the rod, and then knotted. If necessary, holes may be made in the back foot next to the rod to secure the puppet further.

Thin bamboo rods, katik tangan, to manipulate the arms are attached to the puppet's hands. Their length is standard and calculated in the following fashion: the upper arm is turned out, and the lower in so that it lies horizontally. In this position, the rods should reach the end of the handle, though they may extend somewhat beyond this point. Each rod is fastened with string, which is threaded through the hole at the top of the rod and in the palm, and knotted at either end.

X. Varnishing

The entire puppet is covered in a final layer of fish glue, of which up to three coats may be given. The fish glue is made wet, ground and carefully painted so that the puppet's surface is smooth. This final coat, which is essentially a varnish, ensures that the colours remain fast and glossy. The puppet is then left to dry for a few days. This is the final stage in the making of the puppet.

Other puppets

In making other puppets, Raos follows essentially the same procedure as was outlined for Kresna. It is worth noting that throughout the work, he takes into consideration the type and character of the figure portrayed. So, a thicker hide is chosen for an ogre or for a coarse Korawa brother, like Dursasana, and the internal carving

is simpler than for a refined satriya, such as Kresna or Arjuna.

The painting of the puppets is the most complex part of the work. There are a few general rules to which the craftsman adheres at this stage. These apply to body coats, special physical attributes and dress designs. Body colours may be built up differently. As on Kresna, black serves as the principal under-coat to the various skin colours and ensures that the body casts a distinct shadow on the screen. In contrast the ornaments and costume of all puppets, apart from the servants (see below), have no black under-coat.[18] It is of interest that the Kakayonan is the only puppet in a collection given no base colour in black. Raos explained that its shadow is thus elusive which is linked to its mystical nature. Religious beliefs also determine the puppets to which Raos gives a white under-coat. The main ones are Siwa, Kresna, Yudistira, Arjuna and Abimanyu. It is the purest colour* (see Chapter 5), and although not visible, it is thought to reinforce their sublimity.

Other observances relate to eyes, hair and skin sores. Pupils of animals and ogres are surrounded in successive rings of red, yellow, red, black and white so that the eyes appear to glower. Body hair or sores are superimposed onto the final colour. Skin sores known as <u>bulénan</u>, are depicted on some ogres as spots set within two concentric circles of different colours. The spots may be speckled in garish red. They stand out vividly and point to the severity of the defects of the body and, as will become clearer later, of the character as well.

The only other systematic rule is applied to the costume. Some

cloaks, female gowns, or dresses are freely decorated in multi-coloured floral or geometrical designs with no reference to the chisel motifs. They are not then shaded with fine, black lines, nyawi.

The servants are different and merit special comment. They are made of thick, dark hide and their chiselwork is very simple. They are always given a first under-coat of black. As this covers the entire figure, their shadows are more solid than those of other puppets. The base is followed by the skin colour. The few subsequent colours are built up in the order described earlier.

The servants (and the ogre Suratma) are distinguished from other puppets by their moveable jaws. This feature relates to their role as the main spokesmen in the plays. It is constructed in the following manner. The back of the jaw is fastened to the head of the figure with a peg. A string is attached to the bottom of the jaw from which it extends on the one hand down to the handle where it is secured, on the other to the front tip of a thin rod, about 9 cm. long, called the cecantelan. This is tied in a diagonal direction from the ear past the top of the eye. Formerly the string was made of the leaves of a pineapple plant; their veins were removed and twisted together. Now, however, ordinary string is used. The cecantelan is carved from bull's horn and, as it is flexible, acts like a buoyant spring on the puppet. By pulling the string downwards, which the dalang does with his thumb, the mouth opens, and it closes when the string is released.

Delem and Sangut have furthermore tufts of cow's hair stuck onto

their caps. The handles of the servants are also distinct. They are thick and short, extending upward not beyond the calfs. Because of the lack of support to the rest of the body, the servants move in a jerky, awkward fashion on the stage, suitable, as will emerge clearer later, to their caste as sudra.

Conclusion

An examination of the craftsmanship of several puppet-makers shows that the procedure conforms remarkably to a standard process. However, some of the practices which at first sight appear purely technical, also reflect more general Balinese beliefs.

First, Raos makes the puppets in the ritually purest pavilion, the meten, (On the ideal pattern of the compound, see Hobart, M. 1978, 14) which is to the north of the compound and so is closest to the mountains (A.10 and B.10). In this way he puts himself in direct line with the propitious forces which are focused on the mountains.

The direction of work then flows from the top downwards. On Kresna, the copying, incising and painting proceeds systematically from head to feet and from headdress to dress. This method of work corresponds to certain conceptions about the orientation and status of parts of the human body and complies with ideas of spatial order in Balinese society. As Belo (1970, 90-1) has pointed out, man is properly limited to three postures: erect, seated or recumbent; an inverted position is forbidden and most unpropitious. These rules are more general and apply as well to the perceived arrangements in nature. The wooden pillars of any building must be placed in the ground the same way up as the tree grew (Covarrubias, 1937, 94).

Similarly, as in human birth, the head emerges first; so with the puppet, the head is the starting point. The craftsman would be inverting this order if he began with the legs.

The progress of work from top to bottom may also be seen in terms of ritual purity. This is explicit in the symbolism of the body, where the ranked castes are represented by different areas such that the ritually purest caste, the brahmana, are identified with the head and the others with progressively lower parts. Superior head height is an important index of higher status rank (Hobart, M, 1978, 13). The supremacy of the head is dramatically illustrated by a novice's abasement at his initiation, when a brahmana priest puts his feet on the other's head indicating subservience to his teacher (Korn, 1960, 134).

The vertical axis also influences the place where puppets, while in the process of being made, are kept. Raos usually hangs them from one of the rafters in his roof and so above his own head. This is an appropriate position as they are thought of as sacred and height connotes high status and purity.

The craftsman seems to imply with all puppets, apart from the servants, a further distinction between the natural and the cultural. In his chiselwork and painting, he systematically distinguishes between the body on the one hand and dress and adornments on the other, treating them as separate entities. It would appear from this that the apparel and ornaments are not perceived as an integral part of the human form, but as distinct and acquired attributes. Only with the

servants is no such separation made: this seems to reflect their wholeness and reality on the stage.

It is also fitting that the eye is the first feature to be drawn and chiselled. There is a terminological aspect to this. The High Balinese term for 'to see' nyurianin, is derived from surya, sun. In the daily ritual, Surya-Sevana, of a brahmana Siwa priest, the principal god worshipped is the sun god in his form as Surya, or Aditya (Hooykaas, 1966, 10-1). The Balinese associate the sense of sight with lemah, day light and virtue, and blindness to peteng, night, dark and evil (see Chapter 8).

In painting the puppet, the craftsman tends to build up from dark to light tones which may have further significance. Light and dark have already been linked with seeing and not seeing. The Dutch scholars, in particular, have laid emphasis on the use of serial oppositions in Balinese thought where light and dark are associated with sun and moon, and so forth (Swellengrebel, 1960, 37-40; Goris, 1960, 98-9). In one example, this distinction has been expressly applied to notions of the 'uranic and 'chthonic'. It has been argued that the position of banana-leaf mats for offerings is 'chthonic' when they are placed with their light sides up, or in a 'feminine position'; 'uranic' when their dark sides are turned upwards, or in a 'masculine position' (on symbolic dualism, see Schulte-Nordholt, 1971, 475, quoting Grader).

Finally, a word should be said about the puppet-maker. The Balinese initially look at him as a technician who is skilled or not,

as the case may be, at making beautiful puppets by copying old ones. However an examination of the religious regulations and precepts to which he adheres before starting and during work, indicate his status to be more that of a ritual practitioner - although this is not as explicit as with the dalang who invokes the gods to enter him before performing (see Chapter 9). Nonetheless, in order to have the power to create a new form, the puppet-maker must be in an appropriate state of ritual, and spiritual, purity; only then will the god Siwakarma favour him and embue the puppets with life by "speaking through them."[19] This suggests that ultimately the craft is as much a religious activity as a secular one.

Notes:

1. In the original: "Sané pinih dumun nyurianin kekob. Sesampun puniki nyurianin ukirané sané rata lemuh. Wos puniki warna sané patut ngenah ring ipun. Taler becik warna sané mekenyah. Punika sané mekada guna wayang."

2. Van der Tuuk (1897) translates guna as a means used by a woman to make someone enamoured of her, or to bring ruin. In my area guna is primarily used as a formula or substance to attain a desired effect on another person by postulated supernatural means. There are two principal categories of guna: love guna and hate guna. The former is used more frequently to make a member of the opposite sex fall in love with one. It can be used by either sex.

3. In the original: "Wayang ngereh kekob sakèng manusa mangda dados baan dalang ngucapan wayang punika."

4. There are few puppet-makers in Bali as the demand for new puppets is small. This has been confirmed by Hinzler (1975, 54). Therefore any account must reasonably rely on a relatively small number of craftsmen. Craftsmen in Gianyar differ little in their method of making puppets. Some variation is apparent in the precise religious precepts followed, i.e. in the ritual dates observed and offerings made (cf. with those described by Pink-Wilpert, 1975, 59-61).

5. In the original: "Nunas mangda Sang Hyang Wisnu ngelukat, numas mangda Bagawan Siwakarma tedun, naler nunas ampura ring Batara Guru."

6. The offerings are: 1 saiban, 1 canang genten for the demons; 1 segahan is additionally given every fifteen days, or kajeng-klion, for the demons.

7. McPhee (1970, 187) calls the ceremony for the consecration of new puppets melaspasin wayang. This name was not used by my informants who referred to it as mepasupati (derived from Pasupati, the name for Siwa as 'Lord of the Beasts.'

8. Van der Tuuk (1897) translates tenget as haunted, dangerous, with an impressive appearance. My informants said that tenget often means sacred, or imbued with kesaktian kedarmaan, supernatural power for the good.

9. There is no evidence that kayon and kayun have a common etymology. The Balinese treat the two words as if they were homonymous.

10. In the original: "Santukan kekayonan punika mekas ipun pikayunan mangda becik mekarya sami wayang sios."

11. Nowadays some younger craftsmen use oil colours for painting puppets, but these are not considered as attractive as the traditional ones and have less guna, or magical power.

12. Orpiment 'atal' is yellow sulphide or arsenic. This was confirmed by Bambang Gunardjo, director of the Wayang Museum in Jakarta, in a personal communication.

13. I am not sure what Chinese blue is. Raos says it is not indigo. It may be asurite (see Gettens and Stout, 1966, 95-6).

14. It is reasonable to presume that the red is vermilion, a red mercuric sulphide, known in China since prehistoric times and held in high esteem there (see Gettens and Stout, 1966, 170-2). Scott-Kemball has pointed out to me orally that vermilion and orpiment are found on the shadow play puppets of the Raffles collection.

15. I can not find the term ngasinang in either van der Tuuk's or van Eck's dictionary. Raos often used it in his work to indicate 'to adjust according to what he felt was artistically satisfying.'

16. Mellema (1954, 17) says that the eyes, nose and mouth are the last features incised on Javanese puppets.

17. Most bull's horns are obtained from Kalimantan or Sulawesi.

18. Other craftsmen often paint all puppets completely first in black and, while building up the subsequent colours in the same order as Raos, ignore the distinction between body and costume that he makes. Hinzler (1975, 56) points out that in north Bali the colours of the costume, ornaments and skin are directly painted onto the hide of the puppet which, as a result, is somewhat transparent.

19. This is according to Raos. All puppet-makers, however, recognize the existence of the divine, but I was unable to establish exactly how they view this.

Chapter 4. Puppet Collections: Puppet Parts

Collections in south Bali are similar and the forms of the puppets are essentially standard. The method of making new puppets, which consists in copying existing ones and so follows a fixed scheme laid down in antiquity, ensures a unity of style throughout collections. The main difference between them is in the number of puppets they comprise and the quality of the puppets. Sets of simple village dalangs tend to have fewer high caste characters and more ogres than do the sets of their more sophisticated counterparts; also the puppets of the former are often more crudely carved and painted. There is somewhat more variation between south and north Balinese collections. This has been commented upon in Chapter 1, and will not be gone into further as my area of study was the south.

In order to show the variation between models, the following three collections based on wayang parwa, which were as representative as any in south Bali, were examined in detail:

1. Collection of jèro dalang Badra

The collection is shared between two brothers who are sudra. They live in the village of Tengahpadang, near Ubud, and both are dalangs. The younger, I Badra, who was my informant, is the much more active dalang of the two. He has, however, lost his inheritance rights over the set as he married into another compound. This is known as nyentana nyeburin, where a man marries into a family without a son and where the daughter is heir. The set officially

belongs to the elder brother and is usually kept in his shrine. Badra does not know from where it originally came, but merely indicates that it had been an heirloom of the family for at least three generations. I Badra is not very scholarly in his approach to the shadow play, although the villagers consider him a skilled and entertaining performer, who is renowned for the dynamic war scenes he portrays. The iconographic and symbolic aspects of the puppets are of secondary concern to him, as long as he can recognize the characters the figures represent.

The set comprises about one hundred puppets, of which about eighty are fixed individuals, and the rest untitled animals and accessories. Badra pointed out it was not complete as it lacked some of the Korawa brothers and minor satriya. He sometimes borrows puppets from other collections for particular performances. His collection includes numerous ogres and several witches. He explained that these, especially the witches, were necessary because on rare occasions he performs wayang Calon Arang. Although he possesses a separate set of important Calon Arang figures, he is not very discriminating about minor characters and these can be placed in either set.

The quality of the puppets is varied, but on the whole it is poor and reflects his general attitude to his art: his interest is in the performance and not the iconography. The colours of minor characters are at times imprecisely applied; they may even be painted in garish oil colours instead of mellow traditional ones. Some of the puppets are crudely mended, frequently by himself.

II. Collection of jèro dalang Éwer

The collection belongs to I Éwer, of sudra caste, from the village of Padangtegal near Ubud. He bought it from a distant male relative on his mother's side and was then 'married', mesakapan (see Chapter 1) to it. Originally the set was obtained from the brahmana household of Tampak Saya, not far from Ubud. Éwer formerly worked as a servant to the court of Ubud. Here he was encouraged to study the shadow play and to learn Old Javanese, Kawi. At the court he also participated in mekakawin sessions, on which occasions the classical texts are chanted. Now he teaches Kawi at his home. The villagers think he is a boring performer, but he is highly respected for his literary and religious knowledge on the subject. The court of Ubud always calls upon him when a dalang is required to perform for rites which take place in their family.

His collection comprises about the same number of puppets as I Badra's, but it is characterized by a large number of high caste individuals and relatively few ogres. I Éwer takes great care of his puppets which are in good condition.

III. Collection from the court of Peliatan

I. Déwa Madé Parsa from the ward of Tangah Kangin in Peliatan now owns a collection. Formerly, it belonged to the ruler, punggawa, of Peliatan. Madé Parsa's grandfather used to be a servant of the ruler and the set, together with the screen and musical instruments, gendèr,

were given to him for safe-keeping. Over the years, they came to be viewed as belonging to Déwa Madé. The collection originated in a brahmana household in Mas. As no-one in Déwa Madé Parsa's family is a dalang, the collection is not in use.

It comprises over one hundred and thirty puppets, of which about ninety represent fixed characters. My informants all agree that it comes the closest to being a complete set, and is one of the best in the old traditional kingdom of Gianyar. The puppets are said to be well over one hundred years old and so date from before the time of the Dutch. The names are formally inscribed onto the base of the figures. Only in a few cases these can not be made out as they are too faded and most of the characters can be identified with certainty. The puppets are beautifully chiselled and painted; many, especially senior satriya, gods and the Kakayonan, are richly decorated in gold leaf.

All puppet collections comprise the same range of different categories of beings and things. These are as follows:

scenic figures:	Kakayonan Sungsang a few simple figures of trees
heavenly beings:	gods, or batara goddesses, or batari sages, or resi nymphs, or widadari
social castes:	brahmana satriya wèsya sudra
demonic beings:	ogres, or raksasa follows of the ogres, or raksasa bala

creatures:	different animals, birds, serpents
chariots:	usually drawn by one or two horses
weapons:	bows, clubs, spears, knives, keris specific weapons of individuals.

A systematic examination of the three collections outlined above, and others in the area, shows that a unitary system underlies the iconography of the puppets. Each part of the puppet represented is drawn from a range of possible forms which are adaptable. These parts are relatively fixed and constructed according to definite principles. The idea that humans, or here puppets, are composed of separate parts moreover corresponds with the observations of Mead and Bateson (1942 and also Geertz 1973, 417) that the body is conceived of as divisible. (References are made to battles between detachable phalluses; and to ghosts in the form of entrails.) This may also help to explain the ease with which craftsmen can isolate and illustrate the various parts of the puppets (on Bali, see Hinzler, 1975; also Raos's illustrations included in the thesis; on Java, Mellema, 1954).

Dalangs and knowledgeable villagers can immediately recognise most of the characters which the puppets represent by their particular combination of features. A few puppets, usually minor ones, can portray up to five different characters. Major figures, on the other hand, are never interchangeable for others unless a common heritage unites them. So the same puppet can be used for Wisnu, Kresna and Rama, as the two satriya are incarnations of Wisnu; the same applies to Sri, Drupadi and Sita, as the princesses are incarnations of the rice-goddess. Table I lays out some of the main substitutes which characters can assume in parwa myths, the Ramayana or other poems. In chapter 2, an account has already been given of who the characters are. In each case, however,

Table I. Some of the Main Substitues Characters can Assume

Standard character	Mahabrata	Ramayana	Other poems
Arjuna		1. Lasmana	1. Kama
Baladewa	1. Brahma		
Banowati	1. Jambawati 2. Sudesna		
Drupadi	1. Sri	1. Sita	1. Ratih
Gundul			1. Dorokala
Karna	1. Surya		
Krépa	1. Utangka		
Kresna	1. Wisnu	1. Rama	
Kumbakarna	1. Baka 2. Dimba 3. Yama		1. Kala 2. Niwatakewaca
Ludramurti	Taken on by:		
	1. Salya		1. Boma
Matsyapati	1. Dastarastra		
Salya		1. Wibisana	
Séta	1. Parikesit		
Sikandi	1. Arjuna*		
Supraba	1. Lotama		
Suratama			1. Jogor Manik
Sutasoma	1. Pandu		
Tualèn			1. Ismaya
Ulupuy	1. Rukmini		
Wisnumurti	Taken on by:		
	1. Kresna		1. Arjuna Sahasrabau 2. Siwa

Note:
All my informants agree on the character's standard identity and on the substitutes he or she can assume.

*= Arjune only takes on this form in the Bratayuda when Karna shoots at his headdress which almost slips from his head.

the puppet must be appropriately chosen for a given character, even if his role is small. For instance, Maksyapati can be substituted for Dastarastra as they are both elderly, ruling kings, or Séta can be used for Parikesit or Trawan as they are all young, junior princes.

In a few cases there is no universal agreement as to the identity of a character. This is mainly true of minor princes, princesses and ogres (Table II). The identity of ogres is probably the least fixed. In the play, they are easily substituted for one another, or they appear as a group, no single one have a defined personality. In the table the puppets from the Peliatan court are taken as a convenient standard, as their names are inscribed on them. It also shows how Éwer and Badra vary in their designation of the same puppet. However, here it is also apparent that a dalang pays attention to the suitability of the puppet chosen for a given character. It is interesting for example, that for special performances I Badra uses Biasa, the social grandfather of Bima, to represent the Bayu, the god of wind, who is Bima's genitor and whom he does not possess. Biasa, like Bayu, is depicted as a tempestuous, forceful figure, with round eyes and a turban, ketu, which is the status index of brahmana priests and sages.

All puppets based on the human body, which are by far the majority of puppets in any collection, have a similar combination of parts. These can be divided into three main categories: dress, physical shape, and colour. These categories can again be subdivided. So, dress includes headdress, different male and female clothes styles and ornaments; facial hair and features, stance and upper limbs are distinguishable parts of the body; and colour includes not only skin colour, but such painted items as body hair and dress designs which are fixed.

Table II. Discrepant Identification of Puppets in the Three Collections Examined

Peliatan	Éwer	Badra
Gods:		
Bayu	-	Biasa
Male high castes:		
Arjunatapa	-	Utangka
Basudéwa	-	Indra
Gada	Suryakasa	
Jarasanda	-	Pratipa
Rawan	Séta	-
Satruntapa	-	Jarasanda
Séta	-	Utara
Utara	Sangka	
Female high castes:		
Siti Sundari	Drupadi	Drupadi
Ulupuy	-	Supraba
Ogres:		
Dumraksasa	-	Baka
Jambumali	-	no name
Kempana	-	Dimba
Sukasarana	-	Dimbi

Notes:
The Peliatan collection is taken as the standard one. The names are formally incribed on the puppets. The table shows how I Éwer and I Badra may vary in their identification of the same puppet. As can be seen from the charts, different identification does not, however, neccessarily mean a certain character does not exist. He or she may occur as another form unique to the collection in question.

- = same as in the collection from the court of Peliatan. No puppet indicated means it does not exist in the collection.

The classificatory charts (Appendix 5) of the three collections which are examined in detail attempt to set out the main parts of the puppets in an organized manner. There are largely based on indigenous distinctions. They list all the characters with defined personalities and names(given by dalangs or, in the case of the Peliatan collection, inscribed on the puppets). These are ordered according to their political allegiance: the Pandawas with most of the gods; and the Korawas with the ogres. Characters who never enter plays derived from the parwa are placed under 'other puppets'. Wesya and the followers of the ogres are not included on the charts. Naked animals, weapons and the few scenic figures are also excluded as their composition is homogeneous. with little or no affinity to the diacritical parts of the puppets. As the sudra servants stand apart visually from the other puppets and form a distinct group of their own, their features are laid out in separate charts which are discussed in the chapter on the servants.

In the rest of this chapter, I shall describe the main parts which distinguish the characters, apart from the servants and the figures mentioned above. A few individuals, like Wisnumurti and Drona, hold special weapons or attributes. Although these are set out in the charts, these are not discussed here as they are portrayed on so few figures. These features may be discussed later (Chapter 6) when individuals are described in their entirety. In general from a detailed examination of the iconography, it emerges that a part is not unique to one character, but rather all are built up from a limited set of possibilities. Further, there are important features in which there are a large range of shapes and others in which there is little variety: there are, for instance, twelve headdresses and only three different postures. Sometimes several forms seem to belong to a single order: for example,

there are three main styles of male dress depending on whether the cloth falls over or behind one leg, two legs or neither; but in all these the cloth is wrapped in a special way around the body.

The most common Balinese terms by which my informants designated the parts are given where possible in order to assist cross-reference with the proceeding chapters and the charts. Only a small number of features which the Balinese do not distinguish terminologically, for example, bangles, armlets and anklets, are all called gelang kana. In addition, for one or two features there is no precise indigenous term or I do not know it, and these are referred to by their English names.

The scheme presented in this chapter is necessarily relatively simple; my aim is to describe the range of features encountered. An attempt to understand the significance of the parts which includes the translation of the terms is left until later.

Headdress

The most immediately striking part of the puppet's dress is the headdress which is often sumptously decorated. It sits low on the brow, covering the hair line. Twelve different headdresses are distinguished. These fall into six descrete types: dome; cone; crescent and semi-crescent; back sloping bun[1] or cap; heart-shape; and peak set at the back of the head.

Before describing these shapes in detail, it is interesting to note that the headdresses can also be divided into three types according to two main axes - that is the angle at which they incline from the vertical, First, there are those which are nearly upright, like the dome, cone and heart. Second, there are those with a peak at the back, which stand at a more oblique angle. Third, there are back-sloping buns or

caps, which incline much further back towards the horizontal. The crescent and semi-crescent shapes do not appear to follow these simple axes. The semi-crescent is too small really to count as an upright, while the full crescent is especially interesting as it combines two axes sloping back and upwards.

Eleven out of the twelve headdresses are worn by men. The two forms shaped like a dome are the most massive. They are the ketu (D.10) and candi kurung (D.11), which contains a cone-like structure in its centre. The ketu resembles a magnificent, full turban; while the candi kurung appears more solid and ornate. The almost conical or pear-shaped pinnacle candi utama (D.12) has at its back a peak and is also richly decorated. The sides of the crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang (D.13), sweep up and outwards, leaving a gap between the points. The supit urang may differ greatly in height; Nakula's, for example, is much flatter and shorter than Arjuna's. In texture the sides of the supit urang resemble tightly curled hair. (It is hence unsurprising that the same headdress in operetta is made out of dense horse hair.) The supit urang anéh (D.14), which consists of a small triangular peak placed above the forehead, is found on such young princes as Abimanyu, and is worn with the hair hanging loose in back. There are four different types of back sloping buns or caps. The udeng-udengan (D.15) is a sausage-shaped cap. The pepusungan (D.16) and gelung pusung (D.17), follow the exact head shape and have buns at the nape of the neck. The curvature of the semi-circular headdress pepanjian (D.20) is, on the other hand, above the head line. Only two headdresses, the pepudakan (D.19) and kekenduan (D.18), have a peak at the back. Duryodana is portrayed with the standard pepudakan when the peak rises stiffly upwards;

variant forms, such as the one found on Durga, may have an additional scroll. The peak of the kekenduan curves outwards before ascending diagonally upwards, and the headdress is further distinguished by a long scroll which lies below or alongside the peak, as on Drupada.

Four headdresses are depicted on women: the pepudakan, kekenduan, candi utama and the yet not mentioned tengkuluk, which is a heart-shaped turban seen only on Kunti.

The crown, sekar taji, is two-or three-tiered, and is an intrinsic part of many headdresses. It is sometimes worn alone, for example by Drupadi, Garuda or many ogres (D.21). Headdresses also have extra items, such as bands, tails or decorations. The most important of these are marked on the illustrated diagram of Kresna, (A.7).

Dress

Dress is standardized and found on all puppets who stand upright and have the faculty of speech in the performance. There is one exception - the supreme god, Tunggal, who is naked (see Chapter 6). Dress invariably extends down from the waist, often leaving the upper body bare, except for the ornaments. On both males and females, the dress represented is a wastra, cloth (kain in Indonesian) which is wrapped in different ways around the body. It can be either left to hang freely or, as is often the case with males, is swept up between the legs in a form known as mebulat. Tails, lancingan, add a flourish to many male dresses, especially when they hang between the legs. The feet are always left bare and visible.

On male characters three basic styles can be distinguished: those which cover one leg, both legs or leave both exposed. In the first, bulat biasa mecingcingan (D.22 & 23) the cloth is swept up between the

legs, but part falls over one leg down to about the knee. It is often portrayed with a long dress-tail. This style looks particularly elegant, however, when the cloth billows out in a wide, graceful curve passed the calf of the back legs, as on Kresna or Arjuna. One or two characters, like Satayaki, are depicted in a style known as bulat biasa (D.24). It is considered to fall into this category as despite the fact that both legs are bare the cloth droops behind one.

When a character is clad in trousers, jalèr, or in a loose gown, wastra biasa the legs are completely covered. Trousers either protrude from below a long cloak as on Drona, but more often they are worn together with a stiff, straight loin cloth, jalèr gantut (D.25).

In the third style, the dress is very short, although it generally still conceals the hips. The cloth is either swept up between the legs, bulat gantut (D.26) or left loose, wastra gantut. It is in fact often difficult to distinguish the former from the latter. A few ogres, such as Suratma or Gundul, are clad in a somewhat unusual version of the wastra gantut (D.27): their ample paunch bulges over the dress which has slipped down to exhibit an overgrown navel. The dress, bulat genting is striking in that it leaves not only the legs bare, but also the buttocks. On such males as Bima, this style is combined with what looks like a dashing dress-tail, but is said to represent a fold of cloth, ngelèbèr, which falls between the legs (D.28).

Cloaks, kewaca (D.29) are worn by some males, in particular brahmana priests or heavenly sages. Sometimes the cloak is open, as on Biasa, and so reveals the stomach. Shawls, semayut, may also be thrown with a flourish around the shoulders.

Female dress is less varied. There are essentially two styles: the tubular-shaped gown, kimpus (D.30), usually portrayed together a tight bodice, anteng, which covers the breasts, and a dress which flows freely down from the waist, flaring slightly out at the sides, wastra biasa (D.31). The kimpus is the standard dress of such princesses as Drupadi, and heavenly nymphs. The wastra biasa, like males clothes, may vary in length. Only the goddess Giriputri wears this style together with trousers, wastra biasa mejalèr. A few females also have scarfs, sulendang.

Many dresses comprise additional items such as waists cloths, Kampuh, narrow chest bands, selimpet, and bands or sashes, called umpal on males or petek on females (A.7).

Dress patterns deserve brief mention. Only those determined by the chiselwork are described here; the one other important one is dealt with under the heading of 'painted dress designs'. The sixteen patterns illustrated (D.32) appear to be fixed and found across collections. I have not designated them as either my informants disagree on their names or do not know them. On the puppets the patterns are, moreover, difficult to distinguish as they are often very intricate. Also many look alike and consist of a circular core from which petals radiate out.

Most of the patterns are vegetal. Many suggest stylized blossoms. Only two are clearly not derived from plant forms: crosses (D.320) which are mainly found on cloaks, and diamonds with parallel lines (D.32c) portrayed only on Yudistira's dress.

The clothes of male satriya are primarily embellished with these patterns. Those of females, animals or ogres are for the most part less clearly specified.

Ornaments

Ornaments are portrayed on all characters who are clothed, although depending on their nature, caste or status, they are either sumptously or very simply adorned. So senior kings are in general gorgeously decked out, while brahmana and some ogres wear few decorative items. Jewellery on both sexes is essentially the same; only the ear-rings are distinct.

Following native distinctions, ornaments are divided into those seen in daily life or in other dramatic performances, and those which represent mythical birds. The first comprises finger-rings, ali-ali, single or double-banded necklaces, badong bau; bangles, gelang kana, which are worn around the wrists, top of the arms, or ankles; oval ear-rings, anting-anting; or ear-plugs, subeng; girdles, ampok-ampok; and neck-bands, sabukwungsel, which droop down below the waist. The jewellery is often inlaid with splendid jewels, rubies being particularly prominent. Bangles gelang kana (D.33), vary slightly between collections. Designs differ according to whether they are single or double-ringed, and have additional decorative parts which are usually triangular or diamond-shaped.

The back wing, kelat bau (A.7) deserves special attention. It is a striking ornament found mainly on satriya and some gods and ogres. It rises upwards from beneath the armpit and either stands out as a distinct peak or 'wing' as on Kresna or Baladéwa, or merges with the headdress.

The most elaborate ornament, however, is the garuda mungkur (A.8), which represents in highly stylized form the head of the mythical bird, Garuda. Garuda's beak may protrude beyond the rim of the head-dress as on Kresna; or the headdress contains the entire head as on

Baladéwa. A simpler version of the garuda mungkur is sometimes found on girdles when the bird is described as a guak, or crow (A.9) A minute guak can also be made out on anklets worn by major satriya, such as Duryodana, Karna or Kresna.

Facial Hair

Apart from the different hair styles, this category includes eyebrows, bristles, beards and sideburns or curls. Hair styles in particular show the Balinese imagination at work. They range from those consisting of tight; small curls, when the outward contour is smooth, to more loosely-curled hair and a jagged contour. A few styles are purely ornamental and add a comic touch to particular characters. It is interesting to note that hair is generally curly, megegel.

Females, with very few exceptions, are portrayed with hair, irrespective or whether they wear a headdress or not. The hair of princesses and nymphs usually flows freely down to the hips in a long, unbroken arc consisting of neat curls, roma samah tuur megamban. The lady-in-waiting, Condong, alone wears a high-set bun, roma mepusungan. A small number of females and males have shorter hair, which falls in a relatively straight line down to about the waist, roma megamban. Only one prince, Durning, is bald on the top of his head, lengar.

Hair styles on ogres are varied and imaginative. Generally, their hair is unkempt, the curls being large and disordered. The hair-line of many ogres is jagged, consisting of peaks, roma jèring, as on Sukasarana On others, the hair is arranged into one or three protuberances, payas antuk roma. They may also be bald on top, but with unruly hair sprouting out from the sides, lengar tuur roma jèring, or have stiff little tails (made of natural hair), roma mejambul, as on Suratma.

Facial hair also includes bushy eyebrows, larik gimbres, bristles, bris kalès, which completely surround the mouth, as on ogres or mythical creatures, and beards, jènggot. Beards are basically found in three forms: small, often ending in a point, biasa; fairly long and wild looking gimbres, like that of Biasa; or ringlets encircling the chin, brengos, as on Wisnumurti. Males have still sideburns, caling kidang, and females soft side-curls, called by the same name in Balinese.

Facial features

The balinese draw attention to only three facial features: the eyes, nose and mouth. It is these which are described here. Other important features, such as head-form, are brought up later in Chapter 6 when I look at individual figures in the shadow play.

1. Eyes

Three aspects of eyes are important: eye-shape; the number of eyes; and the direction in which a character looks. There are two main eye-shapes. The first is elongated and slit, sumpé (D.34), and the second round dedelingan (D.35). Some of my informants distinguish another eye form. It also is elongated, but more bean-shaped, tapering into a long curve at the back, pijak, as on Drona.

Either one, two or three eyes may be portrayed. The most common number is one which is found on all high castes, who are shown in profile. A few individuals have two or even three eyes. Faces in profile or full face may have two eyes; three eyes are seen only full face. Sometimes a small decorative mark, manik, is placed on the forehead, which may be referred to as a third eye (see Chapter 5).

Characters either look straight ahead, seken, or upwards, ngangah. The latter may be difficult to make out, especially if only the pupil is set at a slant. On the other hand, if the entire head is slightly titled upwards, as is the case with Dursasana, it is obvious.

2. Nose

Noses can be arranged on a sliding scale from those which are narrow and delicate to large, bulbous noses. Slender noses, ungasan langsing (D.36) extend in what is essentially a straight line from the forehead. Somewhat broader, cruder noses, ungasan ageng (D.37). protrude at varying angles from the brow. The line between the nose and forehead may be slightly concave, or appear so, as the latter is indented by a front lock of hair. Still larger noses, ungasan gedé such as those found on ogres, project outwards in a horizontal line, at an angle of almost 90°. Between these extremes, there are small, flat noses, ungasan pèdèl, as seen on Hanuman and Garuda; pigs' snouts, ungasan bawi; and snub and bulbous noses. The last two are also described as gedé. (Snub noses are still referred to as ungasan menur.)

3. Mouths

In contrast to other facial features, the exact shape of the mouth is difficult to determine, and so is not included in the charts. It relies not only on the chiselwork, but also on how the lips are painted, and these are often faded. Informants mainly draw attention to delicate looking mouths, lambé manis (D.36), as on Arjuna, or thicker, coarser ones, lambé rengas (D.37), as on Dursasana.

Teeth, on the other hand, can be distinguished with ease. There are three basic shapes: flat, untu asat; sharp, untu rangap; and long pointed ones, which are fierce tusks, siung. Flat teeth, characteristic

of men and gods, are always depicted in a unit of three protruding from the upper gum (D.36 & 37). Sharp teeth and tusks are portrayed on snakes (D.38), ogres (D.39) and birds (D.40). Birds and snakes have also long tongues, lidah nyelèp, which are stretched out, while cleaving to the lower row of teeth. On snakes, like Antaboga, the tongues are still split into upward-curling tendrils.

The mechanical device, cecantelan, which enables the mouth to be opened, is included on the charts. It has been described in detail in the chapter on making puppets. Apart from the servants, it is, however, only seen on the ogre Suratma.

Posture and stance of legs

Puppets are portrayed in three distinct postures. In the first and most common one, the head and legs are turned to the side, while the upper body remains full face. All satriya for example possess this posture and also a few gods and ogres. In the second, only the head is shown in profile, while the torso and legs are full face. This posture is characteristic of Siwa. Third, a few figures, like Wisnumurti or Ludramurti, are completely full face.

Most leg positions can be arranged according to a scale on which they cluster around three points: the feet are close together, usually touching one another, ngadeg biasa; the feet are slightly apart (but still under one half the length of one of the figures's feet), ngadeg ningkang akidik; the feet are wide apart (in effect over one half the length of one of the feet), ngadeg ningkang. A few characters, like Wisnumurti or Garuda, stand with their legs astride, but with both knees bent outwards and the weight shifted slightly onto one leg, ngadeg ngayeg. The god, Tunggal, has a unique position. He stands on one leg so that the foot of the other fits into the space at the back of the knee

(see Chapter 6 where he is described in more detail).

Arms and hands

Two aspects are of particular importance and deserve special attention: the number of arms shown; and whether they can be moved or not. Arms, in every collection examined, come in three units of two, four and either eight or ten. By far the most puppets have two arms. Only Siwa and Ludramurti have four arms. Wisnumurti alone has either eight arms (I Ewer's collection) or ten arms (other collections).

How the arms are moved is a technical consideration, discussed in the chapter on making puppets. Apart from Suratma's jaw, the arms are the only part of the body which can often be moved. All characters who have two arms, with the exception of Tunggal who is entirely static, can move one or both arms. Two manipulable arms is a feature which above all characterizes the satriya, but also a few figures from other categories. The arms are, moreover, especially prominent on them because of their unusual length: when left to hang the tips of the fingers reach down to, or even beyond, the level of the knees. Figures with only one movable arm have the other lying still against the side of the body, often with the elbow slightly bent, as on Drona. Figures with four, eight or ten arms have no separable parts.

Hand gestures are highly stylized and were designated by my more scholarly informants as ritual hand movements or mudra. Here they are also referred to as mudra for reasons discussed in the next chapter. In contrast to all the other features described, I am restricting myself to the Peliatan collection as my information is based on its puppets. There are two or three variant gestures in I Badra's and I Ewer's collection for which I have no name: for example that of Tunggal (C.76)

and Durga (C.25) in I Ewer's collection. All gestures designated, however, are standard and can be found in other collections.

Both gestures of characters with two movable arms are always identical. This is said to apply also to characters who have only one arm free, although the finger movements on the other are often not distinct as the hand is pressed against the dress. Hands holding weapons or attributes are not described here; their position is said to be practical and has no ritual implication. Gestures can be classified into three groups. In the first, the hands are held open. This is the case in saro-mudra (D.41) when the index fingers and thumbs are lightly touching, while the other fingers are gracefully stretched out; or padma-mudra (D.42) when all the fingers are stretched out. In the second group the hands are partly closed. This is evident in redaya-mudra when the hands are very loosely clasped together; or cakra-mudra (D.43) when the two middle fingers are curled in to touch the thumbs and the others stretched out; and in sika-mudra (D.44) when the fourth and fifth fingers are curled in, while the others are stretched out. The third group comprises almost completely closed hands. In danu-mudra (D.45) the hand is clenched except for the index finger which is pointed (see also parasu-mudra in the chapter on the servants).

Saro-mudra and cakra-mudra are the gestures most often seen. Only Bima holds his hands in danu-mudra. The gestures of a few ogres are in sika-mudra or padma-mudra. The god Tinggal stands out from the other figures. He alone has his hands in redaya mudra (D.46) but further the position of his arms, which are bent so that the lower part of the arms lie horizontally against the body, are said to represent kewaca-mudra (D.47).

Although they are not marked on the chart, nails deserve a brief mention. Those of ogres are particularly long, nakan rèrèng. Bima's long, broad thumb nails are special and classified as weapons, called waspenek.

Body Colour

Body colour is perhaps the most complex feature. Here I will only deal with the surface colours of the puppets, (for how the basic colours are mixed in varying proportions to produce combined colours, see Table II, Chapter 3). An objective classification of puppets' skin colours is difficult as the range of colours used varies from one collection to another. Badra's puppets are, for instance, more simply painted than those belonging to the Peliatan set; many of Badra's are also touched up - new oil paints being sometimes superimposed on traditional ones - which makes it difficult to determine the exact hue. However, an examination of the different collections shows that a fundamental system is being perpetuated throughout in the application of colours. It relies on maintaining the basic relationships between hues. This means that each colour gains its identity by its relationship to the others. So while a given colour is called by a single Balinese name, its precise hue may vary from collection to collection. Within a collection, however, each colour is used consistently.

The colours can be grouped along the visible spectrum: purple, blue, green, yellow, orange and red. It seems likely, however, that the Balinese do not classify colours according a western system. White and black, for example, seem to be included with the spectrally defined colours in a popular scheme. Diagram I in Chapter 3 shows the full range of surface colours seen on the puppets (according to the craftsman

Raos). Here only the simplest English terms for them are used (cf. the names of mixed colours in Chapter 5). So the following categories are established: light and mid-purple, tangi nguda, biasa; light mid-and dark blue, pelung nguda, langit, daki; light, mid-and dark green, gadang nguda, biasa wayah; light, mid-and dark olive green, kedapan durain nguda, biasa, wayah ; blackish green gadang pelosor biu wayah; yellowish white, putih susu; light, mid-and dark orange, kudrang nguda, biasa, wayah; light, mid-and dark brown, soklat nguda, biasa, wayah; light and dark red, barak nguda, wayah; grey, abu; and white, putih. It is interesting to note that all the above colours, except white, are produced by mixing pigments.

Further colour distinctions made by the Balinese are brought up later. It is perhaps only worth while to point out that the people do not seem to consider the saturation or intensity (chroma), and the brightness or brilliance (value) of the colours. These two dimensions are included together with spectral position or hue in the western colour sphere (Osborne, 1970, 257).

In discussing skin colour, mention should still be made of the two features of body hair and sores. Body hair, kulit mebulu, is seen primarily on coarse satriya and ogres who have great hairy chests and legs. The skin of some ogres is also marred by ugle sores, known as bulènan.

Painted dress designs

The black and white design, polèng, stands out here. It is the only fixed painted design and is seen on a few characters such as Bima and Hanuman. It is always worn together with red dress-tails.

Conclusion

It emerges that the puppets are made up of a composite of parts which are discreet from one another. No attempt is made to show

nuances between forms. These parts are essentially fixed and standardized across collections. Freedom is mainly allowed in the colours of dress which, as a result, are not dealt with here. As we shall see in the next chapter, the parts are important as they provide units of meaning and so are effectively the means by which the visual acquires significance.

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Note:

1. Although the bun portrayed on Yudistira and Drona seem to refer to a hair style, the Balinese often consider this feature a headdress (see Chapter 5).

Chapter 5. The Significance of the Parts of the Puppets

In describing the parts of the puppets, it appears that a definite system underlies the iconography. The order perceived and described is based on visual evidence. However, neither dalangs nor craftsmen are motivated to understand in detail the visual elements comprising puppet structure or the system underlying their parts. Dalangs primarily concentrate on the dramatic, literary and religious aspects of the shadow play; a dalang's success is established by his ability as a performer and his reputation as a scholar and ritual practitioner, not on his knowledge of the puppets' iconography. The craftsman is mainly concerned in making new puppets which are true to the tradition and aesthetically pleasing.

Initially, dalangs and craftsmen say that they conceive of each puppet as a whole. It is only on being questioned that the relevance of the parts is acknowledged, and these are then distinguished with ease. Equal interest is not shown in all the features. So humble village dalangs tend to ignore the different hand gestures; these are heeded by those who are more sophisticated scholars. In general, my informants found it easier to describe and designate headdresses than the other articles of wear, as they are the most important item indicating status; of the physical features they give special notice to the eyes, teeth and body colours.

Attention is, moreover, hardly paid to the principles underlying the classificatory system. Craftsmen have perhaps the greatest understanding of the rules determining the forms of the puppets. Raos, for example, pointed out that the correct body proportions are important, although he applies his formula only to dedelingan, round-eyed and sumpé, slit-eyed

figures representing gods and men who are high caste. He further appreciates that puppets must be painted according to a single scheme, while at the same time stressing the relevance of the different proportions of basic colours mixed to produce the individual body colours (Chapter 3).

Nonetheless, from the responses of craftsmen and dalangs it is evident that they are very sensitive to the forms of the puppets. Their awareness of the iconography is vividly demonstrated when a puppet is broken or defective, even slightly. Most dalangs profess unwillingness to perform with it. They point out that the contour must be precise, although they seem not to mind if a damaged pupper is somewhat haphazardly repaired with string or wire.

Merely to look at the aesthetic appeal of the puppets and to describe and classify their parts is inadequate, and is regarded by the Balenese as largely ancillary, To them it is what is represented which is significant. This is close to what Cassirer has called 'symbolical' values, an idea taken over and expanded by Panofsky (1970,56)[1]. In other words, the iconography is considered essentially as a system of meaning, and as such acts both as a document and an anchor for important cultural and social ideas. A study which ignores this dimension would not be faithful to the Balinese view that the visual and it interpretation must be seen as a pair. The aim of this chapter is to investigate this dimension and discover the correlations which the people make between intelligible concepts and the visual form, that is the parts of the puppets.

Such a study gives some insight into how the Balinese think about the puppets, or the influence these may have on their thought, at least at the time of my fieldwork. It is impossible to say that all the meanings attributed

to the parts are the original ones; some, moreover, are bound to be subsequent rationalizations. It is worth noting, however, that the Balinese may be remarkably faithful to their heritage in their transmission of cultural values. This emerges clearly in fields where we have evidence of early usage, for instance in the meaning of religious terms [2].

There is more than one form or source, of meaning. First there is what Turner (1974, 50) called the 'exegetical meaning' which is obtained from questioning indigenous informants. Here information has been given by a wide range of people, craftsmen, dalangs, actors in other theatre forms, village and brahmana priests, as well as humble and educated villagers. Insight into a given feature can also be acquired by reference to the other cultural contexts in which it is found. In examining the puppets, it emerges that there is often not just one meaning attached to a particular part. All sorts of meanings may be hinted at, which gives the visual something of its richness. Nonetheless, a remarkable degree of standardization is evident in the exegesis of the facial features and the interpretation of the basic colours, in particular, white, red, yellow and blue.

Clearly, it is not possible to present a complete picture of the meanings associated with the parts of the puppets. Yet it is relevant to include this dimension. It shows the types of explanations the Balinese give and see as important, or the significance the parts may acquire by reference to the context in which they are found. The folk view is supplemented where possible by comments from other scholars and textual references. There are gaps in the knowledge of the Balinese on certain features. They seem, for instance, to know relatively little about the significance of headdress, dress and ornaments and point out, as a justification for their ignorance, that these items were largely worn in the past and not now; in contrast they wax lyrical about body colours.

The charts at the back of the chapter lay out in a systematic fashion the information obtained on each of the parts of the puppets. They are ordered according to the following distinctions:

1. The name or names by which indigenous informants (or in a few cases other scholars) designate a certain feature are given. The first one is the most common. In general, the first time a puppet part is introduced . both the refined, alus (A) and ordinary, biasa (B) form of the name are included. Subsequently, as we are dealing mainly with features of gods and high caste characters and not sudra, only the refined level is used (on language levels, see Preface). No language level may be indicated or only one may occur for several reasons. A specific term may not fit into the system of language levels, and so be neutral. More complex, a few terms are graded by level, but the higher of these is not generally used. For example, a light colour tone is referred to as nguda (B: light, young) and never as anom (A). A feature, such as body hair, may also have coarse, kasar, implications when the alus form is not used (see text).
2. The Balinese terms are translated. Most of the specialized names have been checked against entries in the dictionaries of van Eck (1876) and van der Tuuk (1897).
3. Many features in wayang do not have meaning in isolation. In many instances they also do not have a clearly defined referent. For example, there is no immediate reason why some ogres should have bodies covered in garish spots, called bulénan. Similar or identical attributes are, however, very often found elsewhere in Balinese society so that their existence is not restricted to wayang. So, in any discussion of the parts of the puppets it is extremely important to point

/to other

contexts within the society where these are found. Not infrequently features for which there is not specific explanation in wayang, as for instance the shape of the teeth, may have meaning regularly attributed to them in other contexts. Although there are no clear ground for simply assuming that there is a correspondance between a feature in wayang and the same feature found elsewhere, in many cases there is evidence of a connection, and the Balinese generally assume there to be one. So I am here referring to cultural contexts outside wayang in which traits in wayang are also found. This is obviously a large category and my adumbration of these is inevitably preliminary. As we shall see, so much in wayang refers to broader cultural elements that it is important to include these. Context here is a rather broad idea.

4. The exegetical meaning of the feature in the particular context follows. I am relying on folk interpretations here as there are few organized explanations by scholars. When relevant and available, scholarly comments may, however, be included in order to increase an understanding of the parts of the puppets. They sometimes also help to put the indigenous interpretations into perspective. As emerges, some features are very rich in meaning, like the basic colours which have a "fan" of referents (see Turner, 1974, 50). Others, like the eye shapes depicted on puppets, are said not to be found in life, and so in their case no contextual interpretation applies.

5. The meaning a given feature may have in the shadow play is discussed. Often a close relationship can be observed between the exegetical meaning of the feature in a particular context and its significance in the shadow play. For example, as white and yellow are basically ritually pure colours in the culture, it is appropriate that many satriya of the Pandawa camp are putih susu, yellowish white in body colour. A few features, as

exemplified by the eyes, are only seen in the shadow play (or in other theatre forms, such as the masked dance). Yet they represent a wide range of qualities to the Balinese.

In the text which accompanies the charts, I mainly draw attention to things which seem especially important about a particular part or category, such as that of headdress or facial features. Where there are gaps in the information, these are examined if it appears relevant. Additional information or interpretations on certain items may be included.

Headdress

Although headdresses are generally considered the most important item of wear as they are the main index of a character's status and role, little seems to be known about particular ones. Also next to nothing seems to be known about them historically (see dress). Mellema (1954, 21-4), Holt (1967, 144) and Ulbricht (1970, 43-5), who discuss the headdresses of Javanese, many of which are similar to the Balinese ones although more stylized, throw no further light on their significance in Java.

Most of the information obtained on headdresses is inferred from the names. Taking the most common ones as a basis, the Balinese order them into two classes. The names of the first class compare and associate the headdresses to phenomena in the world of men. So, the candi utama and candi kurung are primarily associated with a temple, candi; the pepudakan with a pandanus flower; the supit urang with the claws of crayfish or crab; and the pepanjian with the legendary figure, Panji. The other class includes headdresses which have no specific linguistic associations and are, or were in the past, worn in life. The most familiar ones are the udeng-udengan, an unspecified headgear and the turban, ketu. The udeng-udengan is made out of cloth, wound in various ways around the head, and is seen on men at such ritual occasions as the odalan, the 'birthday' of the temple, a household rite, or a cockfight. A brahmana priest may wear a high hat called ketu when officiating at a ceremony.

In examining the headdresses, it should be noted how ingenious some of the interpretations are, linking them in meanings appropriately to the character who wear them. This is vividly illustrated by the pepudakan which is derived from pudak, a pandanus flower. The flower has splended upright petals, but once it opens they soon fall off. To the villagers the pepudakan implies tarnished nobility or nobility which will be dethroned. So, they point out that fittingly the headdress is depicted on senior kings, like Duryodana and Salya, who are defeated by the Pandawas in the Bratayuda. Durga, who wears a version of this headdress, is associated with the Korawas in the shadow play.

The supit urang deserves singling out for it is the main headdress portrayed on members of the Pandawa camp; no Korawa wears it. It is not possible to state with certitude why this should be the case. It should, however, be noted that the small, symmetrical curls of the headdress - which in the operetta, arja, are made of horse hair tightly bound together - can be set in opposition to the loose hair of the ogres which sticks out in all directions. The form of the hair of the supit urang suggests order and concentration of energy, while that of the ogres disorder (see hair).

The pepusungan or gelung kaklingaan is only seen on Yudistira. Although most informants say it is a headdress, this is left slightly ambiguous; some describe it as a hair bun or knot, pusung. (To my informants all the other head coverings are headdresses.) It is interesting that, according to Swellengrebel's account (1947), the king of Gianyar wore a headdress called gelung kaklingaan during his consecration to show his affinity to Yudistira, who is considered the purest of all the satriya (although also a somewhat anaemic character by my villagers, see Chapter 6). We have here an example of when a specific headdress in the shadow play may in fact have been worn by satriya.

Finally a few general observations should be made about headdresses. To the villagers they are a sign of masculinity and what is perhaps best termed 'sex appeal'. This emerges in the following description of Arjuna after Karna's arrow in the Bratayuda hits his headdress which as a result almost slips from his head: sané mangkin ida kirang caya, kirang guna, now he has less prospect of success and less appeal (on guna, see note 2, Chapter 3). After this event, some dalangs also replace Arjuna by the puppet Sikandi who is an hermaphrodite (see Table 1, Chapter 4).

My informants, however, all agree that headdresses are above all an index of status. What is the exact status indicated, though, remains rather vague. The villagers are only explicit in the case of the candi utama, candi kurung and ketu: the first two indicate spiritual and secular power; the last spiritual alone. It is worth pointing out here that, at least in the present, in Bali the head of both sexes is usually left bare; a man only covers his head for a ritual occasion. Most figures in the shadow play are portrayed with a headdress, or at least a sekar taji, a crown. So, the characters are represented as separated from daily life. This suggests that they are set apart.

Dress

In the two manuscripts, Usana Jawa[3] and Niti Praya, it is said that dress stems from the gods. The myth in brief is as follows:

> After creating the world, Brahma created the three sexes: males, females and hermaphrodites. They were, however, naked and lived like wild beasts.
>
> Siwa was distressed to see these people and resolved to destroy them. In due course his son Kala was born from the god's sperm which fell to earth. He grew into a giant who required his hunger to be stilled. Siwa told him that there was plenty to eat on earth. So Kala went to earth where, as a result, the number of men diminished rapidly.
>
> Wisnu, the god of preservation, was alarmed at this. In order to prevent Kala from eating more humans he decided, together with Indra, to ennoble men by sending them several gods and goddesses, with the requisite tools to

teach them civilization.

> Among the celestial beings sent, were the goddess Ratih and her heavenly nymphs. They taught men how to weave from vegetable material, kapoh. First the clothes were very simple and only one colour was used.
>
> The human and holy sage, bagawan Nerawaya, who had dwelt in heaven for some time, completed the dress. He showed men and women how to dress differently from one another, and introduced jewellery and flowers. So the Balinese learnt to dress in a similar fasion to today.

(For a fuller version, see Soekawati, 1926,526-7)

As clothes are thought to be of divine origin, and dress on humans, as well as on puppets, acquires special importance to the Balinese.

In examining the dress of puppets and other occasions when a style is, or was traditionally, seen in life, it emerges that dress may indicate caste, status and sometimes age. So, like brahmana priests in life, sages and priests in the shadow play often wear a blouse, kewaca, a long gown, wastra biasa and a shawl, semayut. Senior kings or refined princes, for example Kresna, Duryodana and Arjuna, are clad in the elegant bulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan, when the cloth is swept up between the legs, but part of it is left to cover one leg. My informants say that this style indicates their official role; warriors probably also tucked up the cloth in a similar manner for battle. Young princes tend to wear shorter dresses. Princesses and heavenly nymphs are portrayed in clothes which are very similar to those which Balinese girls wear for such dances as legong.

From the native terms and the meaning attached to the different styles, it is evident that villagers are particularly sensitive to the length of dress. This was already noted in Chapter 4 when the visual distinction underlying the different styles was described. The degree of refinement and coarseness of a character tends to be reflected in the length. So, brahmana, high ranking or refined satriya have either both legs or at least one covered. Elderly women, like Kunti who is held in great respect, goddesses, nymphs and princesses are all clad in long gowns. The goddess Giriputri even wears trousers. Witches, on the other hand, are naked, apart from a skimpy shawl or scanty dress (B.11). Ogres are also depicted in very short clothes, their bare muscular legs protruding from below their dress. Bima, for complex reasons, has still his thighs exposed (see Chapter 6). The dress tail, said to represent the phallus, is a conspicuous item of many male clothes. Bima and Hanuman who are renowned for their power and physical strength perhaps unsurprisingly have very prominent tails.

Clothes on Javanese puppets do not differ substantially from those on their Balinese counterparts. Male high castes may drape a large rectangular ceremonial cloth, dodot, around their hips. These were formerly worn at the court. Long trousers, but also short pants, are evident. In contrast to Bali, gods and priests wear shoes. (On the dress of Javanese puppets, see Holt, 1967, 144)

Unfortunately, relatively little seems to be known on the early history of dress. Raffles (1965,86-95) describes in some detail the dress worn by Javanese in the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are only few references of interest on this subject before the time of Raffles. Ma Huan (1433, 87 and 95) mentions that the king of Majapahit wore a crown of gold leaves and flowers and silk kerchiefs were wrapped around the lower part of the body, which were kept in place by a waist band. Pigeaud describes

in greatest detail the dress that members of the court of Majapahit may have worn: "probably in outward appearance King Hayan Wuruk and his Court showed more resemblance to the Pandawas as represented in the 18th century wayang style than to 20th century Central Javanese Kings and nobles whose stately dress and solemn mien no doubt was influenced by Dutch gravity"; so, "the traditional wayang clothing, however phantastically overdone, might give an idea of 14th century Majapahit Court attire" (1962,507).

Although there were definite links between Bali and the Javanese kingdoms (see Chapter 1), these sources are fairly meagre and it is, on the whole, more reliable to refer to Balinese culture for information on the dress of Balinese puppets. While there are no accounts I know of as to what satriya traditionally wore for battle, it seems likely - although not conclusive - to the people interviewed, that their outfit resembled that of puppets which represent satriya.

Ornaments

Ornaments, like headdresses, are grouped into two classes on the basis of the terminology. The first class, to which most of the items of jewellery belong, have no linguistic associations and are, or were, worn in life. The second comprises the bird ornaments, the garuda mungkur (Garuda at the back) and guak, or crow, heads, which have the mythological or folk significance to the people. According to Holt (1967,144) in Java the meanings of the ornaments are for the most part no longer known. Even the garuda mungkur (called by the same name in Java as in Bali), which was thought of traditionally as a protective charm, nowadays merely helps to identify heroes who have special divine attributes (Holt, 1967,144).[4]

Little meaning is attached to the jewellery items. The Balinese simply point out that they indicate wealth and so are portrayed on many characters in the shadow play, the majority of whom are high caste. Swellenrebel's reference (1947) to the neck and shoulder ornaments, bebadong and kelat bau, which rises like a 'back wing' is a striking

decoration of gods and high ranking satriya. As with the headdress, gelung kakingaan, we have here an instance when such an ornament seems to have been displayed. We also see how other scholars' observations may supplement the information of my informants who were unable to bring up a single circumstance when the kelat bau was in fact worn.

The Garuda head, garuda mungkur, on the headdress is the most complex and elaborate single ornament. A smaller version of it is the guak, or crow's head on the girdle, or the tiny crow's head on the chest band or anklets. The villagers say that the mythological bird Garuda is also a crow, but built on a larger scale than the guak. These bird heads primarily signify to the people supernatural power, a capacity or attribute traditionally ascribed to satriya (see Chapter 8).

In the folk tradition, the crow is thought to live in the graveyard. He is very powerful, sakti, and is able to foretell the future; despite his home being the graveyard, he never becomes leteh, ritually impure.[5] How he obtained his abilities is recounted in the following short story, said to stem from the Cantaka parwa:[6]

> Rawana was threatening the gods. In fear of the demon-king, the gods decided to hide from him by taking on the forms of animals or birds. Indra became a peacock, Waruna a goose, Kuwèra a chameleon, and Yama, the Lord of Death, a crow. When Rawana left, having been unable to find the gods, they thanked the creatures for having let them assume their forms. Indra granted the peacock may eyes with which to see. Waruna enabled the goose to dive into the water without the water penetrating his feathers. Kuwèra granted the chameleon the ability to change his colour according to his environment. Yama told the crow that he would be very powerful and would be able to foretell the future; he would also never become impure inspite of his home being in the graveyard.

In view of the Garuda, or crow's, association with supernatural power, it is fitting that Wisnumurti and Ludramurti, who represent the transcendental state of anger of gods or demons (see Chapter 2),

and senior kings, like Kresna, Baladewa, Karna and Duryodana should be adorned with numerous birds' heads.

Hair

Most of the hair styles depicted on puppets are not seen on adult Balinese in daily life. Belo (1949,15) says that until the end of the last century and the arrival of the Dutch, men and women had long hair; after this men took to cutting their hair. In the context of the shadow play, it is relevant to point out that, apart from a few young princes and ogres, almost all male characters wear a headdress and so their hair is covered. In life however it is only dancing girls who leave their hair to hang freely down past their shoulders. Although a woman once she is married is not allowed to cut her hair, it is carefully coiled at the back of the neck and only let down for the purpose of washing or delousing it. Although it cannot be definitely established how women wore their hair in the past, it seems unlikely that hair styles should have changed substantially. The curly quality of the hair of puppets also distinguishes them from Balinese who, in general do not have curly hair. Only Drona and Yudistira possibly wear a hair knot, similar to ones seen on brahmana priests.

From the information obtained, it is evident that hair is an object of some emotive significance. In the eyes of the villagers, the unruly hair of ogres, which sprouts out on all sides, is linked to their unbridled aggressive nature. In contrast, the hair knots of Drona and Yudistira suggest self-control and restraint as is fitting of their roles and characters. (The same may apply to the tight curls of the headdress, supit urang, see under headdress.) The soft, silky long hair of princesses and nymphs, on the other hand, is linked to their status as young, beautiful women who are sexually available.

In view of the negative implications of abundant, unkempt hair (see also painted body hair, called bulu, or feathers, in the charts, the Balinese do not distinguish them terminologically), it should be noted that my informants often used the ordinary language level, biasa, to describe facial hair. So beards were always referred to as jènggot (B) and not rerawan (A), and side-whiskers as bris kalès (B) and not kapèng (A), irrespective of the caste of the charscter. This may in part relate to the fact that the majority of my informants on this subject were low castes, but it may also indicate the aversion of the people to unnecssary hair growth.

Facial features

Of the facial features, the eyes and then the teeth are the most significant. Little attention is paid to the different nose forms which tend to reiterate the meanings of the other features, and they are not examined further in this discussion.

Eyes:

In contrast to Java where Holt (1967,141) points out that there are at least thirteen eyes shapes, the Balinese distinguish only two basic ones: sumpé, slit, and dedelingan, round eyes.[7] A few informants also recognize a third eye form, which is bean-shaped, pijak. This form does in fact exist on a few figures (see Appendix 5), but more generally it is referred to as sumpé, as it too is elongated and slit.

The eye shapes of puppets are not thought to be applicable to ordinary life, and the meanings attributed to them are exclusive to the shadow play and other theatre genres. Yet they reflect important social values and individual qualities. Characters are essentially divided into two main types: those with slit eyes who tend to be refined, controlled and uphold the social ideals and those with round eyes who are coarse, hot-

headed and disruptive.

Individuals easily fit into this scheme. So Yudistira who is delicate and Arjuna who is known for his control both have slit eyes, while the coarser and more selfish Korawa brothers have round eyes.

According to a few village dalangs the pijak eye is portrayed on Kresna, Drona, Dursasana and a small number of sages. We see how individual traits may in fact over-ride the objective system of classification. Kresna has a standard slit eye. By describing his eye as pijak, however, his shrewdness and cunning are brought to the fore and his individuality stressed.

I obtained no information on the significance of the different number of eyes or the decorative mark on the forehead, referred to as jewel, manik. (On Tunggal's third eye, see Chapter 6) Looking upwards, like Dursasana, on the other hand, suggests pride. Most characters though look straight ahead. The Balinese seem to attach little importance to the number of eyes and the direction in which the character looks. In discussing the eyes, they refer almost exclusively to their shapes.

Teeth

The Balinese are very sensitive to the shapes of teeth. As can be seen from the charts, in contrast to eyes their significance is reflected in natural differences expressed, or even augmented, culturally.

Teeth are the most decisive feature in separating humans and gods from animals and ogres. The former have flat and the latter pointed teeth and fangs. The relevance of flat teeth is highlighted in the context of Balinese beliefs on the tooth-filing ceremony, mepandas (A). All Balinese must have their teeth filed at some stage in their life; this

often takes place at the same time as marriage. If they are not filed during life, they must be on death to avoid ritual and spiritual dangers.

My informants explain the significance of the ceremony as follows: apang hilang letehé nang akelamat buwang, to remove the impurity which is like the outer skin of an onion. The impurity associated with unfiled teeth is slight - just as the outer skin of an onion is thin. Nonetheless, it must be removed; only then is man ritually pure and civilized.

On the other hand, it is appropriate to their low position that animals and ogres have sharp teeth and fangs. This also applies to Hanuman, although he is one of the purest characters. To the villagers, his white skin colour in effect suppresses the negative implication of the teeth (see colour).

The eyes and teeth are generally considered the most important physical features seen on the shadow silhouette during a performance. The shape of the eyes indicate a character's type and associated qualities, and the teeth show whether he belongs to the human (or heavenly) world or to the animal (or demonic) world.

Posture and stance of the legs

My informants attach little meaning to the different postures or stance of the legs. On the whole they point out that the proximity of the legs is correlated with refined or coarse traits. The closer they are together, the greater the refinement of a character. Legs far apart, as those of Bima, also indicate physical strength. Only a few characters, such as Wisnumurti, Ludramurti or Garuda, stand in an attitude assumed by male dancers in baris, which highlights their warlike and religious roles to the people.

Of the greatest significance is perhaps the fact that most figures

stand upright - not only gods and humans, but mythic creatures and ogres as well. This position marks their full status in the performance; four-legged animals have, in contrast, subsidiary roles, mainly pulling chariots. It is worth noting that jujuk (B) or ngadeg (A) means not only to stand, but also to rule and hold office (cf. van der Tuuk, 1897, who includes in his explanation of the term ngadeg, ring mangadeg, while ruling like a king). The extended meaning of the term is particularly suitable when used of the satriya, who comprise by far the greatest number of puppets in a collection, for they are the ruling and warrior caste. The conflict as to who should rule the kingdom is focused on them in the shadow play (see Chapter 8).

Gestures

Puppets are distinguished by the deliberate movements of their fingers. These are said to be the same on both hands. This is so even if one arm is static and its gesture indistinct because the hand is held against the dress. Informants differ more markedly in their interpretation of gestures than of any other feature. Most villagers and humble village dalangs ignore them until it is brought to their attention, and even then little interest is shown. Sophisticated dalangs say they are significant as they are ritual hand gestures, patanganan (in high Balinese) or mudra (in Sanskrit) although they do not know individual names or meanings. It should be noted that in describing dancers, Zoete and Spies (1938, 20 and 39) suggested that their eloquent finger postures are a faint relic of a living, sign-language, mudra.[8]

As little is known about mudra at the village level, a highly respected Siwa priest in my area, the padanda Pandangtegal (officially known as padanda Gedé Manuaba), was approached. He pointed out without hesitation that all the gestures seen on puppets are based on mudra which a

Siwa priest makes during his ritual when he requests Siwa to descend into his body in order to prepare holy water (cf. Hooykaas, 1966,10-1). He explained that mudra generally required both hands to be held in identical positions and on the same level, but that puppets had to move their arms in accordance with the requirement of a dramatic performance. So the gesture of one hand exhibits half a mudra, which must be visualized together with the other hand to form a complete gesture. Only the hands of the supreme god, Tunggal which are lightly clasped together form a distinct mudra. (The servants differ from other characters as each of their hands are in a different position; each is said to represent a mudra. So each servant makes, in effect, two mudra, see Chapter 7.)

The visual evidence goes far to substantiate the view that the gestures of puppets correspond to finger positions within mudra, although it cannot be established with certitude that these are the same mudra as those identified by the padanda Padangtegal. Some of them seem in fact to correspond more closely to those made by Buddhist priests(cf. illustrations of mudra in Hooykaas,1973c).[9]

Hooykaas has emphasized that although they use them the meaning of mudra is not fully known to contempary Balinese. He points out that manuscripts on the ritual of Siwa priest often omit mudra, which does not imply that the officiating priest does not care about them (Hooykaas, 1966,33). In an oral communication he also mentioned that Siwa priests could vary considerably in their interpretation of them; and of Buddhist priests he says that while they perform them meticulously, their meaning often escapes them (1973c,22). The padanda Padangtegal's interpretation of the mudra, together with the views of learned dalangs on their meaning in the shadow play, is however included. Although these must remain somewhat tentative they shed light on the Balinese beliefs on the iconography of the

puppets. In the charts, these are supplemented by Hooykaas's information on the mudra (for all the gestures which the padanda Padangtegal identified are found in Hooykaas, 1966).

In the context of the shadow play, the padanda Padantegal explained that it is important that all puppets make mudra. This applies in particular to ogres. They have to supplicate Sang Hyang Widi (see note 16 on the charts) for his protection and beg his pardon, nunas ampura (A) for their behaviour which is destructive and base. He further pointed out that all mudra are derived from the lotus, padma, and represent weapons which aim to destroy witches, demons and ritual impurity in general. Through their ritual hand gestures, the characters worship Sang Hyang Widi and make him happy, and so ensure his continued good will towards the world and the creatures in it. Eventually all beings, including ogres and demons, will become united with him.

In examining padanda's interpretation of the mudra, scholarly dalangs accompanied me to the priest. It should be noted how skilfully the dalangs adapted the meanings attributed to the mudra identified on particular puppets to fit the characters in the shadow play. For example, according to the padanda Padangtegal the gesture sika-mudra, found only on one or two ogres in each collection, indicates the desire to worship and give respect to the 'seat', palinggihan (A) of the god Brahma and his wife Saraswati. Dalangs explain that it is fitting that ogres should make this gesture: they are at a low stage of development and they supplicate Saraswati, the goddess of literature, so that in their next incarnation they may learn to read and write, and thereby become civilized.

A few words should be added on how humble dalangs and villagers view the gestures of puppets. Only in a few cases is meaning attributed to them. This is mainly based on an occasion when the same gesture is

seen on a human, and the interpretation then relies on an obvious visual association. So an open hand is said to represent a grasping nature (see padma-mudra in charts), or the index finger and thumb touching one another while the other fingers are gracefully stretched out - as is often seen on dancers - indicates refinement and the ability to concentrate and control energy (see saro-mudra).

It is clear that at the village level there are no adequate interpretations of the gestures of the puppets. On visual grounds it seems moreover likely that they represent finger positions within mudra. Although the padanda Padangtegal identified them as definite mudra which, among others, are made by Siwa priests during their basic ritual, his information is not conclusive. For instance the meanings Hooykaas (1966,33) attributed to the mudra called by the same name, differ from his. Nonetheless, it is perhaps of greater interest that brahmana priests and educated dalangs agree in saying the gestures are mudra, and so are a feature of special ritual significance.

Colour

The body colours of the puppets are universally agreed to be the most significant iconographic feature, although they cannot be seen by the spectators who watch the shadows projected onto a screen during a night performance (Chapter 9). In examining colour, two different aspects have to be distinguished: the meaning of the five basic colours which the craftsmen use to produce mixed ones, and the final or surface colours of a puppet's body. For the sake of clarity, these are separated here.

I. The basic colours

The colours are said to be the purest manifestation of the gods and the qualities they reflect to stem from the gods with whom they are ass-

ociated.

In order to understand the meaning attributed to the five basic colours - white, red, yellow, black and blue - it is important to realize that to the Balinese the universe is ordered according to fundamental principles of classification. The most popular system adhered to in the shadow play is known as pañca déwa (five gods): a five-part model, or classificatory scheme, which includes other sets such as directions, colours, numbers and days of the Balinese five-day week (Diagram I). In this scheme the directions are defined by reference to two spatial axes which intersect at the centre. These axes differ in character however. In the first, the line between the east, and west, is fixed. In the second, the cardinal points kaja and kelod correspond roughly with upstream and downstream, from the volcanic lakes in the interior to the sea. This axis linking mountain and sea describes a radius round a roughly central point to produce a circle.

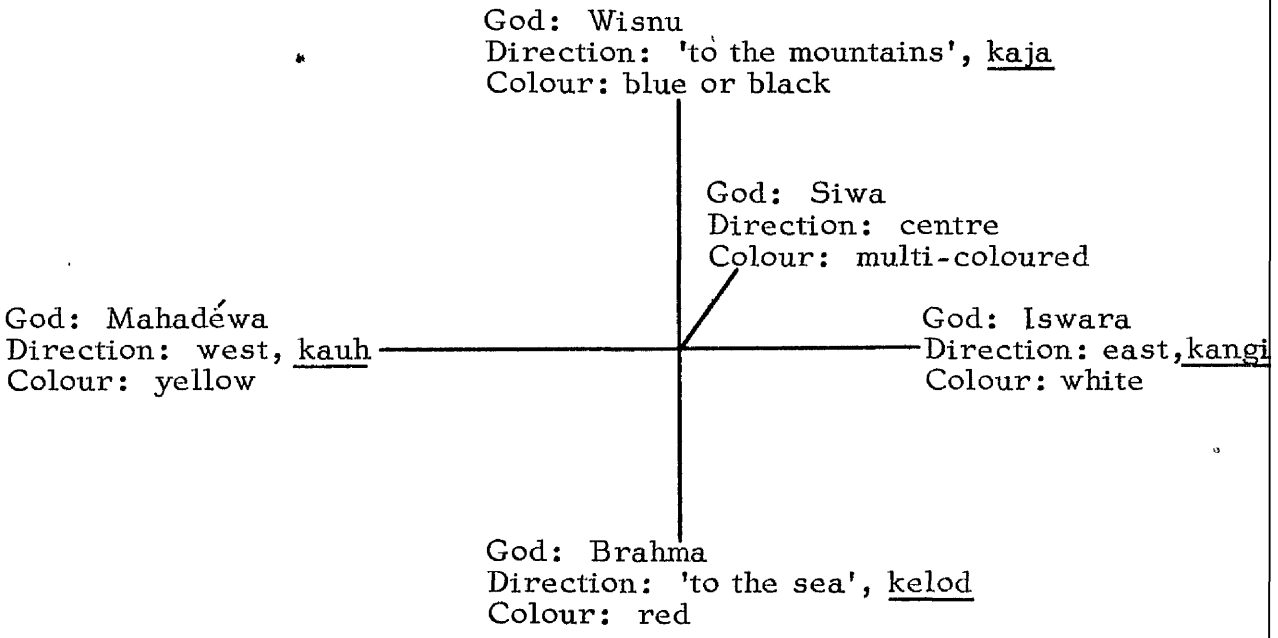


Diagram I. The pañca déwa (five gods)

In this scheme 'to the mountain' and east are identified with the sacred, purity and prosperity, and 'to the sea' and west with the reverse (Swellengrebel, 1960, 39). As can be seen in the diagram, the gods Iswara, Brahma, Mahadéwa and Wisnu are linked with the basic colours used in painting puppets, white, red, yellow and blue or black respectively. It is relevant to mention here that a sharper distinction is made between Wisnu and Brahma and everything they connote, than between Iswara and Mahadéwa, whose names can even be used to indicate Siwa or aspects of Siwa (Swellengrebel, 1960, 45). This has a bearing in understanding the qualities associated with the five colours.

White and yellow do not differ greatly in the qualities they are said to reflect. White, and to a lesser degree yellow, mainly indicate purity and refinement. Yellow also implies compassion for one's fellow beings. Blue is a 'cool', tis, colour and considered the most appropriate colour of Wisnu, the god of water. Blue indicates harmony, steadfastness, intelligence and virtue. Although black is most often the proper colour of Wisnu in literary texts (see nawa-sanga below), it has both positive and negative connotations in the folk tradition, being also associated with the night, witchcraft and black magic. Because of its contradictory meanings, it is generally avoided on puppets, except on ambiguous ones like Bima (see Chapter 6). Red is the colour of Brahma, the god of fire. It is a 'hot', panas colour, indicating anger, uncontrolled passions, coarseness and black magic.

The contextual uses of the colours tend to suggest the same interpretations of meaning as those outlined above. This is especially marked in the case of white and yellow. The first is the standard dress of all ritual practitioners, and indicates their purity. Village priests, who

stand closer to the villagers than brahamana priests, often still wear yellow sashes when officiating.

The five-part model, pañca déwa, can be related to a more elaborate nine-part system, the nawa-sanga in which 'to the mountains' and 'to the sea' become ritual north and south respectively and the intermediate directions are ascribed with a prominence similar to that of the cardinal points (Swellengrebel, 1960, 50). Some dalangs may refer to this more differentiated system when discussing the significance of the colours. The religious incantation, mantra Aji Kembang, shows how the nine gods and their consorts are related to the organs of the body, the qualities, the colours and the directions. An informed dalang gave me the verses in the incantation which refer to the colours. These are included here. They do not differ substantially from those in the full incantation found in the Darma Pawayangan, the philosophical rules of the shadow play (Hooykaas, 1973a,88-91). As can be seen, in this system black is associated with Wisnu and north, blue with Sambu and north east, and red with Brahma and south.

In the east there is a white lotus.
The god is Iswara.
He dwells in the heart.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms white.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be happy and fortunate
and will enjoy rendering homage to the gods.

In the south east there is a light red lotus.
The god is Mahèsora.
He dwells in the lungs.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms light red.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be able to discriminate between right and wrong
and will be famous in the world.

cont. over-leaf

In the south there is a red lotus.
The god is Brahma.
He dwells in the liver.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms red.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be good-looking and live to be very old
and will be wise in the knowledge of literature.

In the south west there is an orange lotus.
The god is Rudra.
He dwells in the colon.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms orange.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be patient and courteous
and popular among men.

In the west there is a yellow lotus.
The god is Mahadéwa.
He dwells in the kidneys,
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms yellow.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be brave in war
and knowledgeable in literature.

In the north west there is a green lotus.
The god is Sangkara.
He dwells in the spleen.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms green.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be diligent in fasting and meditation
and firm and steadfast in the path of honesty.

In the north there is a black lotus.
The god is Wisnu.
He dwells in the gall.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms black.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will act purely
and will be good-looking and follow the path of darma (duty).

In the north east there is a blue lotus.
The god is Sambu.
He dwells in the peritonium.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms blue.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be good-looking and firm in darma,
and will attain all he desires and will be loved by the
entire family.

cont. over-leaf

In the centre there is a multi-coloured lotus.
The god is Siwa.
He dwells in the pancreas.
Here he resides with his consort.
Nature blossoms multi-colours.
The soul who is reincarnated like this
will be talented and his actions virtuous,
and he will be firm in fasting and meditation
in order to obtain release.

(These verses of the Aji Kembang were told to me by I Ewer)

Dalangs, or other informants, usually however discuss the significance of the basic colours by reference to the five-fold model, the panca dewa (the five gods). A few isolated dalangs do not even know the Aji Kembang.[10] It is interesting to note that Goris has suggested that what he has called the four-five part system (four and the centre) is pre-Hindu and more elaborate systems of later Hinduism easily linked up to it (see in Swellengrebel, 1960, 51).

II. Combined colours

Almost all the body colours of puppets, except for a very small number, are combinations. The five basic colours are said to retain the particular qualities associated with them when they are mixed in varying proportions to produce the combined ones (see Diagram I, Chapter 3). So the body colour of a character subtly expresses his mystic qualities - these being reflections of the gods. Although craftsmen differ somewhat in how they mix the basic colours, the proportions Raos uses are as good an index as any of how the characters obtain significance through their body colour. For example, Yuditira or Arjuna, who are considered pure and refined, are yellowish white, putih susu. This colour is made up of an equal amount of white and yellow which links them to Iswara and Mahadewa and their qualities. To emphasize their purity, they are still given an undercoat of white (Chapter 3). The ogre Kempana (see Peliatan collection) is dark

brown, soklat wayah, and his skin is covered in ugly blotches called bulénan. Dark brown is made up of a large amount of red, a medium amount of black and a small amount of yellow. These colours relate him to Brahma, Wisnu and Mahadéwa and their respective qualities. As red predominates, his anger and lack of control come to the fore. The blotches further emphasize his ritual impurity.

The only basic colour ever seen on a puppet's body is white. Tunggal and Hanuman are white; also a small number of ogres and witches (see Appendix 5, Badra's collection). The Balinese, however, distinguish terminologically between the white, putih, on the first two characters who are very pure, and the white on ogres and witches which is called putih melé, described as corpse-like white. Melé is also related in sound by the Balinese to the word jelé (B) which means evil. Visually, however, putih and putih melé are identical colours. Friederich (1959,54) suggests a possible reason why the supreme god and ogres should be the same colour when he points out that the categories of gods and ogres or demons may be blurred to the Balinese. So the gods can also take on the form of ogres. This is evident in the shadow play when Kresna assumes the form of Wisnumurti, who is also called Butasiya tengawan the thousand-fold ogre of the right.

As can be seen from the charts in this chapter, combined colours are often given two names. Some names refer to objects in the natural world, in particular to plants and fruit. Others describe the tonal value of a colour: nguda, light, biasa, ordinary, and wayah, dark. These terms, or equivalent ones, like pelung daki, dirty blue, are always restricted to a range of two or three colours. It is tempting to relate nguda and wayah with their associated concepts of young and old to the two camps, Pandawas

and the Korawas. Various scholars, such as Pigeaud (1929, 285-7), Mellema (1954, 68-9) and Rassers (1959, 99-215) have suggested that the dichotomy between the two camps is linked to the opposition between the younger and older line. The Balinese, however, do not make this distinction.[11] On an overall level, they distinguish the body colours of puppets not so much by whether they are light (or young) or dark (or old), but by whether they are 'cool' or 'hot'. Cool colours tend to contain predominantly blue or white, and hot ones black or red. Yellow is a relatively neutral colour.

It is evident that to the Balinese the five basic colours have special significance. All informants say that the qualities associated with them stem from the gods - usually by reference to the five-part model, the pañca dewa (the five gods). So the body colours, by virtue of being produced from the basic colours, are able to express the mystic nature of the individual characters. They have little meaning in themselves (see, though, note 22 in the charts on Kresna's body colour). Scholars, such as Kats (1923), Pigeaud (1929, 285-9), Mellema (1954, 58-77)[12] and Holt (1967, 142-3)[13] have already drawn attention to the relationship which exists between the facial colours of the Javanese puppets and their character. None of these scholars however associate the colours and the qualities with the gods and their work throws little light on the colours found on Balinese puppets.

It is not uncommon in fields other than the shadow play to find that in both Bali and Java the colours are linked to the gods. Pigeaud (1929) pointed out that the existence in religious texts of four - or five-part systems of classification which relate the colours of the gods, the directions and emotional states. Pott (1966, 134) in discussing the nine-fold model of the cosmos, the nawa-sanga, lists the qualities, weapons and gods together with their consorts, associated with the colours. His

qualities differ though from the ones my informants mentioned. There are probably several systems of classifications on the two islands. I obtained information on the colours mainly from dalangs, and the meanings outlined here are ones fairly universally agreed to in the context of the shadow play, but also more generally in the culture.

Conclusion

It emerges that the iconographic elements which underlie the structure of the puppets have a more or less clearly ordered and recognized significance. Holt has remarked about the iconography of the Javanese puppets that it "externalizes functional role, hierarchical status and temperament, and, sometimes also a hero's age, state and mood" (1957, 140). The visual, however, does much more than this. It is linked to a system of meaning which expresses and makes accessible to the public important beliefs, ideas and values of the culture and society. Although it is impossible to give a complete picture of the meanings associated with the parts of the puppets - a fact my informants are acutely aware of - this dimension is as relevant to the Balinese as the iconography; the two are seen as forming an inseparable pair.

We have noted that the features acquire their significance by reference to the exegetical meanings attached to them; often also by the different contexts in which they are found. I have relied largely on folk interpretations as (in as far as I have been able to establish) there are few organized explanations given by either indigenous or western scholars. For the most part these two do not contradict one another anyway. Some meanings, like those attributed to the facial features and basic colours, seem to be shared to a remarkable degree and so form a system of collective representation (see Chapter 8). It is not yet known how widely

/the Balinese

agree in their ideas on some of the other features, such as hand gestures. It is interesting to note here how ingenious they are in adapting the interpretations to fit the characters in the shadow play. This emphasizes the need for some caution in accepting the meanings before they have been confirmed more generally. The five basic colours deserve special comment for they stand out by the wealth of meanings attached to them. They appear to have wide moral connotations and a wide range of values which refer to both specific and sometimes visible phenomena as well as abstact ideas. So black, which is the most ambiguous colour, is linked to night and witchcraft, and to such concepts as meditation intelligence and virtue.

In the next chapter I want to look at important individuals in the shadow play, for the features cannot be examined in isolation. They are combined to represent characters of complex significance.

Notes on the chapter

1. With the expression 'symbolical values' Panofsky means understanding an art work as a document of the artist's personality, or of the civilization. The work of art should be dealt with "as a symptom of something else which expresses itself in a countless variety of other symptoms, and we interpret its compositional and iconographical features as more particularized evidence of this 'something else' " (1960,56).

2. This is, for example, evident in the term karmapala (see van der Tuuk, 1897) instead of the abbreviated form karma, commonly used in present day India. Professor Wright, in an oral communication, pointed out that this was the correct form derived from ancient texts. The same applies to the term (a) merta (also: amerta, amrita), the elixir of immortality. The villagers in my area also refer to rice as merta and say that this is a source of happiness. Van der Tuuk (1897) has noted that the plant nasi-nasi used to indicate rice, is known as taru amreta, the tree of immortality. Bosch (1960, 62-3) has pointed out that amrita originally did not imply eternal life, but to live a complete and happy life. So, contempory Balinese peasants appear remarkably faithful to very ancient usage.

3. The Usana Jawa is a chronicle reminiscent of the chivalric romances of medieval Europe. It gives an account of the Javanese invasion and conquest of Bali in the middle of the 14th century (Swellengrebel, 1960, 21-3).

4. Apart from the garuda mungkur, it is also difficult to determine why the other stricking ornament, the wing-shaped praba ("glow", "radiance") - in Bali called kelat bau - is worn by certain princes and not by others in the Javanese shadow play. In the case of Gatotkaca, the flying prince, it probably represents wings (see Holt, 1967, 144).

5. The graveyard is considered ritually impure, leteh, in Bali. This is probably as it is ambiguous, for it is a transitional place between life and death. It is here that the body and spirit separate.

6. Ensink (1967, 51) mentions that Balinese dalangs often use stories from the Cantaka parwa as the basis of their performances. The Cantaka Parwa consist essentially of folk myths, which, however, involve heroes from the great epics. This story, given to me by a village dalang, can not be verified, as the Cantakaparwa has not been translated.
   For a somewhat similar version of this story, see Zoetmulders's summary of the Arjunawijaya, (1974, 326-7).

7. The slit and the round eye are also found on Javanese puppets. The first indicates refinement and the second violence, power or crudity. Between these two shapes there a range of intermediary ones (Holt, 1967,141).

8. According to Holt (1967, 120) the meaning of the elaborately positioned fingers of Javanese dancers is also no longer known; these probably derive from Indian mudra.

9. For example, the gesture called cakra-mudra on puppets - with the two middle fingers flexed inwards - corresponds more closely to the finger movement of a Buddhist priest (see illustrations of mudra in Hooykaas, 1973b, fig, e1) than to that of a Siwa priest (see illustration of cakra mudra in Hooykaas, 1966, plate 26).

10. The main occasion some dalangs recite the Aji Kembang is during a Sudamala ceremony when they are making purificatory water. (see Chapter I & 9).

11. The Balinese only recognize this distinction in the sense that the Pandawas are the younger line of descent and the Korawas the elder, as their fathers, Pandu and Dastarasta are younger and elder brothers respectively. Because of the complex rules of inheritance and succession in Bali little importance is, however, attached to this (see Chapter 8).

12. Mellema (1954, 72-3) links the four colours most often seen on Javanese puppets with the directions, metals and planets. He further associates the colours with the four main temperaments distinguished by the Roman doctor Galenus of the 2nd century: phlegmatic, sanguine, choleric and melancholic. Unfortunately, he does not look for their meanings in the context of Java, and also does not consider the other colours depicted on puppets.

13. Holt (1967, 142) says about the facial colours of the Javanese puppets that black seems to indicate maturity, virtue and calmness; red uncontrolled passions and desires; white noble descent, youth and beauty, but its use is ambiguous; and blue to some indicates a cowardly nature. Gold denotes either beauty and royal status, or simply shows the desire to make the puppet attractive.

So, the meaning of red comes the closest to that of red in Bali. Although all my informants agree that white mainly indicates purity, it also seems to have ambiguous overtones as it is found on the supreme god and ogres. Gold is primarily used to embellish the dress of satriya and sometimes gods.

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context [1]	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. candi utama(A)	2a. highest candi According to Stutterheim (1935,23) candi is derived from candigra: 'House of the Goddess of Death', implying a sepulchre monument.	3a. name given to Indo-Javanese temples in Java and Bali. Candi came to be associated with ancestor worship (Kempers, 1959,272-5; Zoetmulder, 1965, 272-5; Stutterheim, 1935,23-5). First entrance to a Balinese temple is called candi bentar, or split candi.	4a. implication is high spiritual status.	4a. so, it is appropriately worn only by gods and senior satriya, e.g. Brahma, Baladewa or Kresna.
		b. Cone-like structure of the headdress with a jewel on top is said to resemble a meru, or shrine, surmounted by a lingga or jewel (see Stutterheim, 1935,20). (In passing, it is worth noting that the headdress is worn in other theatre forms).[2]	b. "	b. "

cont. over-leaf

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
d. gelung[3] agung (A)	d. supreme royal headdress (v.d.T)	d. agung common reference term for senior satriya, e.g. cokorda agung, or dewa agung (see appendix)	d. implication is high status	d. appropriately, it is only worn by senior characters, e.g. Brahma and Kresna.
e. candi agung (Hinzler)	e. (large crown) (Hinzler)			
1a. candi kurung	2a. enclosed candi (v.E.); (basket crown; Hinzler)	3a. see candi utama 3a. (Also worn in other theatre forms).	4a. implication is high spiritual status.	5a. no differentiation in terms of status is made between candi utama and candi kurung. Appropriately, it is only worn by Siwa and Karna.
b. gelung kurung agung (A)	b. supreme royal enclosed headdress.	b. "	b. "	b. "
1a. ketu (B); bawa (A)	2a. priest's hat (v.d.T.) bawa as derived from mebawa: shining quality of high birth (Mead & Bateson, 1942).	3a. ketu may be worn by brahmana priest, padanda, when officiating. (It is worn in other theatre forms).	4a. indicates spiritual status	5a. appropriately, it is worn by sages, like Narada, or padanda, like Bisma.

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. pepudakan	2a. derived from pudak: pandanus flower (v.d.T.)	3a. peak of headdress is said to resemble a large upright petal of a pandanus flower, before the blossom opens up and the petals fall to the ground. (It is worn in other theatre forms).	4a. implication is a splendid flower, the petals of which stand upright, but once the flower opens they soon fall off.	5a. appropriately, it is worn by Durga, and such senior kings as Duryodana or Salya who are defeated by the Pandawas.
b. gelung prabu	b. king's headdress			
c. candi rebah (Hinzler)	c. fallen crown (Hinzler)			
1a. supit(B)urang; kapit(A)urang	2a. pinchers of a crab or crayfish(v.d.T.)			5a. no reasons are given for why it it is worn by so many satriya of the Pandawa camp, e.g. Bima or Arjuna.
b. gelung sumpit urang	b. headdress in the form of pinchers			b. "
c. apit urang (Hinzler)	c. curved shrimp (Hinzler)			

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. supit(B)urang anéh; kapit(A)urang anéh	2a. one pincher of a crayfish or crab			5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by junior satriya, e.g. Abimanyu (except that one pincher is less formidable than a pair).
b. gelung pakis rebah	b. (headdress, v.d.T.)			b. "
1a. kekenduan; kekendon (Hinzler)	2a. none given "	3a. cloth headgear, known as kekendowan, in life, and may be worn by men (Soekawati, 1926, 528).		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by such senior kings as Drupada.
b. gelung patih	b. prime minister's headdress			b. informant (Sugriwa) says headdress is worn by junior satriya and ogres, e.g. Buriserawa or Prahasta. However, in collections examined, it is worn by senior satriya.

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. pepusungan	2a. derived from pusung: hair knot (v.E.)[3].	3a. it is pointed out that such a hair knot may be worn by a brahmana priest.[5]	4a. indicates spiritual status.	5a. appropriately, it is only worn by Yudistira who is thought very pure.
b. gelung kaklingaan	b. (headdress, v.d.T.)	b. the king may wear such a headdress at his consecration to show his character is like that of Yudistira (Swellengrebel, 1947,11).		
1a. gelung pusung	2a. headdress; hair knot	3a. see pepusungan 3a.	4a. see pepusungan 4a.	5a. appropriately, worn by Drona.
b. gelung manuh	b. none given			
c. kupa (Hinzler)	c. none given			
1a. pepanjian	2a. derived from panji and hence, implying the Javanese ler Radèn Panji.	3a. Panji is the hero of many Javanese-Balinese poetical romances (Pigeaud, 1967, Vol,I, 206-8).[6]		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by the charioteer Daruki.

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. udeng-udengan?	2a. derived from udeng(B): unspecified headgear (v.d.T.)	3a. worn by men for special occasions, e.g. wedding, cockfight, odalan, or the birthday of a temple. (It is worn in other theatre forms).	4a. no specific status is attached to it, but a ritual occasion is implied.	5a. it is worn by junior satriya, in particular the younger Korawa brothers.
b. dèstar(A)mebongsan	b. unspecified headgear (v.d.T.); derived from bongkos: headgear which covers the back of head(v.E.)	b. "	"	"
c. kupa (Hinzler)	c. none given			
1a. tengkuluk	2a. female turban (v.d.T.)	3a. traditionally, said to be worn by elderly married women.	4a. marital status is indicated, and respect implied.	5a. appropriately, it is only worn by Kunti.
b. kupa (Hinzler)	b. none given			

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. sekar(A)taji	2a. flower; a man-made spur attached to a fighting cock (crown)	3a. such a spur is attached to a cock before a cock-fight, tetajèn. (Worn in other theatre forms). b. fore-ribbon, called sekar taji, may be worn by a child on his third oton (or 3 x 210 days; Soekawati, 1926,529).	4a. implication is battle.	5a. appropriately, it is worn by many characters for wayang involves war.

Feature: dress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. selimpet (silempet)	2a. chest band	3a. (worn in other theatre forms).		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by many male characters.
1a. sulèndang (A) tengkalung (B)	2a. shawl	3a. primarily worn by elderly women when they go to bring offerings, maturan, to the temple.	4a. implies age and respect.	5a. it is appropriate that such goddesses as Durga and Geriputri wear it. No reasons given for why the Condong wears it.
1a. semayut	2a. shawl	3a. primarily worn by brahmana priests.	4a. spiritual status implied.	5a. appropriately, it is worn by sages and brahmana priests.
1a. kewaca (A) baju (B; Hinzler)	2a. blouse or cloak	3a. primarily worn by brahmana priests.	4a. spiritual status implied.	5a. appropriately, it is worn by sages and bramana priests.

Feature: dress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. bulat biasa mecingcingan	2a. dress swept up between the legs; ordinary (style); left to hang over one leg.	3a. traditionally worn by male satriya. When depicted without a dress tail falling between the legs, it is the style worn before setting out on an official errand. (Worn in other theatre forms).	4a. without a dress tail, it is said to be the most elegant style: it hints at the outline of the legs, which are compared to a pudak, pandanus flower.	5a. appropriately, it is worn by many male satriya. Kresna or Arjuna wear the elegant style.
1a. bulat biasa	2a. dress swept up between the legs; ordinary (style, but with the cloth drooping behind one leg).	3a. a style a male satriya may have worn. (Worn in other theatre forms).		5a. worn by one or two male characters only.
1a. bulat gantut	2a. dress swept up between the legs; short (as rolled up, but hips left covered).	3a. peasants may wear this style when they go to work, e.g. on the rice fields. (Worn in other theatre forms).	4a. physical strength and coarseness implied.	5a. appropriately, worn by junior satriya and ogres.
1a. bulat genting ngelèbèr	2a. dress swept up between the legs; very short; fold of cloth left to hang like a tail between the legs.	3a. peasants may wear this style when they go to work. Bulat gantut is, however, more common.	4a. physical strength and coarseness implied.	5a. appropriately, worn by Bima.

Feature: dress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. bulat genting	2a. dress swept up between the legs; very short (so that the buttocks are exposed)	3a. may be worn by peasants.	4a. physical strength and coarseness implied.	5a. no reason given for why the god Bayu wears it, except to show his relationship to Bima & Hanuman.
1a. wastra(A)gantut, kamben(B)gantut	2a. dress left to hang loose; short (as cloth rolled up around the waist, but covering the hips)	3a. worn by peasants when they go to work. (worn in other theatre forms).	4a. physical strength and coarseness implied.	5a. appropriately, mainly worn by ogres.
1a. jalèr	2a. trousers	3a. never worn in life. (worn in other theatre forms).		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by important satriya, such as Gatotkaca or Baladewa.
1a. wastra biasa mejalèr	2a. dress left to hang loose; ordinary(style); trousers.	3a. never worn in life.		5a. no reasons given for why the goddess Giriputri wear this.

Feature: dress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. wastra biasa	2a. dress left to hang loose (down to the ankles); ordinary (style)	3a. most common dress style seen on both men and women during time of field work. (Worn in other theatre forms).		5a. apart from indicating respect as the legs are covered, no reasons are given why some sages and Kunti wear this.
1a. kimpus	2a. (dance dress)	3a. such a tight gown is worn by female dancers, e.g. legong girls. At the same time, a band is wound tightly around the breasts (cf. Covarrubias, 1937, 225).	4a. emphasizing the body curves, it suggests beauty and grace.	5a. appropriately, it is worn by princesses and heavenly nymphs.
1a. lancingan(A) kancut(B)	2a. dress tail	3a. this is seen in life when the dress tail hangs between the legs. (Worn in other theatre forms).	4a. said to represent the phallus, and so during ceremonies it is held over an arm as it would pollute the offerings if it trailed over them. It implies masculinity and sexuality.	5a. a dress tail is an intrinsic part of the dress of many male characters. Attention is drawn to Bima's prominent dress tail.

Feature: ornaments

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1. garuda mungkur(A)	2a. garuda; derived from ungkur: to the back or rear (v.d.T.)	3a. Garuda is the mythic bird in the Mahabrata who is Kresna's vehicle. Ungkur also refers to the fact that Garuda was the last child born to Winata (Adiparwa). (Worn in other theatre forms).	4a. supernatural power, kesaktian, is associated with Garuda. (see myth in text about the guak; also the feature guak).	5a. appropriately, it is worn by some gods and such satriya as Baladewa, Kresna or Duryodana and some ogres. Ungkur also indicates Garuda's position on the headdress: to the back.
1a. kelat bau c. bahuraksa (Hinzler)	2a. arm-ring (v.d.T., but it is not clear whether this has the shape of the "back wing" on puppets). c. (arm-protector)	3a. arm-ring worn at festive occasions, mainly by brahmana priests (v.d.T.). (Worn in other theatre forms). b. Worn by the king at his consecration & at other ceremonies (Swellengrebel, 1947,11).		5a. said to indicate high status and so, appropriately worn by some gods and high ranking satriya.

Feature: ornaments

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. sabukwungsel b. nagakaang c. nagaratna (Hinzler)	2a. (neck band) b. (neck band) c. none given	3a. (worn in other theatre forms). b. "		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by many characters. b. "
1a. ampok-ampok b. pending (Hinzler)	2a. girdle b. (belt; Hinzler)	3a. (worn in other theatre forms).		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by many characters.
1a. badong bau	2a. necklace	3a. worn in life. (worn in other theatre forms) b. Swellengrebel (1947,11) points out that the king at his consecration & other ceremonies wears a broad neck ornament, bebadong	4a. indicates wealth.	5a. so, worn by many characters, the majority of who are high caste, but why ogres is unknown.

Feature: ornaments

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. anting-anting	2a. ear-rings	3a. worn by brahmana priests (v.d.T.) Otherwise, men do not wear jewellery, except possibly finger-rings. (Worn in other theatre forms).		5a. no reasons given why many male characters wear ear-rings.
1a. subeng	2a. ear-plugs	3a. worn by girls and not by married women as considered coquettish (Covarrubias, 1937,116) At time of field work, palm leaf ear-plugs were mainly seen on elderly women.		5a. no reasons given why all female characters wear ear-plugs.
1a. ali-ali(A) bungkung(B)	2a. finger-ring	3a. rings with rubies are fashionable in life. (Worn in other theatre forms).	4a. indicates wealth.	5a. appropriately, worn by many characters, the majority of who are high caste.

Feature: ornaments

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. gelang kana	2a. bangles, armlets, anklets.	3a. bangles are worn in life. They are only in good taste if made of gold or tortoiseshell set with rubies, star sapphires, or diamonds (Covarrubias, 1937, 116) (Worn in other theatre forms.	4a. indicates wealth.	5a. appropriately, worn by many characters, the majority of who are high caste.
1a. guak	2a. (tiny version of Garuda)	3a. described as a type of crow found in the graveyard.	4a. supernatural power is associated with the guak (see myth in text, where Yama, the Lord of Death, says the guak will be powerful, but never impure).	5a. appropriately, the guak can be made out on the chest bands and anklets of Wisnumurti, and such senior satriya as Kresna, Baladewa and Karna.

Feature: facial hair

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. roma(A)megamban, bok(B) "	2a. hair; hanging loose	3a. up until the last generation both men and women had long hair(Belo,1949,15) At the time of field work, however, mainly girls who dance wear their hair long; women, if married, have their hair coiled at the back.	4a. said to indicate youth and beauty if the hair is also samah (see below).	5a. appropriately, mainly seen on young satriya, e.g. Abimanyu.
1a. roma samah	2a. hair; thick	3a. many girls have thick hair.	4a. smooth, silky and soft hair is denoted.	5a. appropriately, long, thick and silky hair is seen on heavenly nymphs and princesses, e.g. Drupadi.
1a. roma jèring	2a. hair; standing upright			5a. indicates a wild nature and so, only worn by ogres.

Feature: facial hair

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. roma mepusungan	2a. hair; bun	3a. hair style worn by brahmana priests.	4a. spiritual status implied.	5a. appropriately, worn by Yudistira. no reasons given for why the Condong wears this style.
1a. payas antuk roma	2a. ornamental; hair style			5a. adds a comic touch and so, worn by one or two ogres who have no defined personalities.
1a. lengar(B)	2a. bald	3a. seen in life.		5a. said to be coarse and so, seen on Durning and one ogre.
1a. roma mejambul	2a. hair; forelock (v.E., but on puppets it is a stiff hair tail).	3a. this style may be seen on very young girls when the hair is pulled together in a stiff little tail.		5a. no reasons given for why it is worn by the ogre Suratma.

Feature: facial hair

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. larik(A) gimbres alis(B) gimbres	2a. eye-brows; bushy	3a. seen in life (only not as bushy as on some of the puppets).		5a. indicates a wild, coarse nature and so, appropriately mainly seen on ogres.
1a. bris kalès(B)	2a. bristles			5a. indicates a wild, coarse nature and so, appropriately mainly seen on ogres.
1a. jènggot(B) biasa	2a. beard; ordinary	3a. seen in life; wispy, thin beards are often worn by brahmana priests.		5a. no reasons given for why many satriya have a small beard.
1a. jènggot gimbres	2a. beard; bushy	3a. not seen in life		5a. no reasons given for why a few satriya have bushy beards.
1a. jènggot brengos	2a. beard; very bushy	3a. not seen in life.		5a. indicates a wild, coarse nature and so, appropriately seen on ogres.

Feature: eyes

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. penyinkan(A)sumpé, mata(B)sumpé	2a. eyes; a girl's hoop (v.E.)	3a. (seen in other theatre forms).		5a. indicates a noble & refined, alus or manis character.
				b. reflects a compassionate nature; one who desires to live a life of abstinence, metapa, & who has understanding of darma, duty or morality.
c. penyinkan segi tiga tumpal	c. eyes; none given			c. indicates a wise, refined, patient character who performs yoga, meditates, semadi, & believes in the gods & respects the elders & the ancestors.
d. mata supit (McPhee)	d. none given			d. reflects a self-contained, unrevealing character (McPhee)
				Appropriately, this eye form is seen on many refined characters, e.g. Kresna, Arjuna, or Nakula.

Feature: eyes

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. penyinkan dedelingan	2a. eyes; probably derived from deleng: wide open of eyes (v.E.)	3a. (seen in other theatre forms)		5a. indicates a coarse, kasar, wild nature; one who angers easily. b. suggests a proud, hot-headed character who rarely shows compassion for others, & makes little attempt to curb his baser desires.
c. penyinkan bulat	c. eyes; round(Ind.)			c. reflects a proud character who does not consider others; one who values only the material world.
d. mata deling (McPhee)				d. at best denotes a frank, impulsive character; at worst, one who is uncontrolled & violent (McPhee). Appropriately, this eye form is seen on many coarse characters, e.g. the Korawa brothers or ogres.

Feature: eyes[12.]

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretain wayang
1a. penyinkan pijak (nejak) (the existence of this eye form is not recognized by all informants).	2a. eyes; to tread on (v.d.T.)			5a. indicates a character who is intelligent, cunning and shrewd, daya upaya. So, found on Kresna.
1a. penyinkan seken	2a. eyes; clear, distinct (v.E.) or according to my informants: looking straight ahead	3a. seen in life. (Seen in other theatre forms).		
1a. penyinkan ngangah	2a. eyes; sharp of e.g. medicine (v.d.T.), but according to my informants: to look upwards	3a. seen in life. (Seen in other theatre forms).		5a. indicates coarseness & pride. So, seen on e.g. Dursasana and ogres.
1a. manik	2a. jewel	3a. (seen in other theatre forms).		5a. meaning unknown, except on Siwa and Tunggal where it is said to represent 3rd eye, trinetra (S.).[11.]

Feature: nose

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. ungasan(A)langsing, cunguh(B)langsing	2a. nose; slender	3a. (seen in other theatre forms).		5a. (not much importance is given to the nose form). Indicates on the whole refinement. So, seen on such characters as Kresna, Arjuna or Nakula.
1a. ungasan(A)ageng(A)	2a. nose; big	3a. (seen in other theatre forms).		indicates on the whole a coarse character. So, seen on all Korawa brothers, but also Bima.
1a. ungasan(A)gedé(B)	2a. nose; big	3a. (seen in other theatre forms).		5a. here it is through the language level used - gedé(B) instead of ageng (B) - that a very coarse, rough character is indicated.[13]. So, seen on ogres.

Feature: teeth

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. untu(A)asat, gigi(B)asat	2a. teeth; flat, even	3a. all Balinese must have their teeth filed, mepandes(A), even if this occurs after death. (Seen in other theatre forms).	4a. flat teeth implies that a person is ritually pure & a civilized being. (see text)	5a. appropriately, all characters, based on the human idiom, have flat teeth.
1a. untu rengap	2a. teeth; sharp	3a. seen on animals & humans before their teeth have been filed.	4a. on humans said to be kumel: foul & dirty(v.d.T)	5a. appropriately, seen on animals and ogres.
1a. siung(A), caling(B)	2a. canine teeth, (tusks)	3a. in a tooth filing ceremony, it is primarily the sharp canines which are filed(see untu asat) (seen in other theatre forms).	4a. see untu rengap.	5a. appropriately, ogres and animals have tusks.

Feature: stance of the legs

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretain wayang
1a.ngadeg(A)biasa, jujuk(B)biasa	2a.to stand, rule, hold office(v.E), ordinary (implies feet together).	3a.seen in life. (Seen in other theatre forms).		5a.(not much importance is given to the different leg positions; see in text meaning of ngadeg: to rule). It suggest refinement. So, seen on such characters as Kresna, Arjuna or Nakula.
1a.ngadeg ningkang akidik(A), jujuk ningkang abidik(B)	2a.to stand; legs apart; slightly	3a.seen in life. (Seen in other theatre forms).		5a.may suggest some coarseness. So, seen on Korawa brothers and ogres, but also junior satriya.
1a.ngadeg ningkang	2a.to stand; legs apart (implies feet far apart)	3a.seen in life. (Seen in other theatre forms).		5a.indicates strength & boldness. Appropriately, seen on Bayu and Bima.
1a.ngadeg ngayeg	2a.to stand; (in a Baris position)	3a.Baris: file of soldiers. Baris is the most significant ritual and martial dance of males. It takes place mainly in the temple.	4a.generally dedicated to the gods, it has riligious connotations(Zoete & Spiess,1938,56)	5a.indicates supernatural power. Appropriately seen on Wisnumurti, Ludramurti or Garuda.

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. redaya-mudra (S: hrdaya-mudra)	2a. heart; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa, the aim of which is the unification of the padanda soul with the Siwa Soul. Only then can Holy Water be obtained (see Hooykaas, 1966, 10-3, & Plate 27).	4a. padanda Manuaba:[15] it represents the creation of the universe by Sang Hyang Widi.[16] Aim: to ensure the subsequent preservation of the state and all creatures in it. b. Direction: east. World: immaterial. Effect: purification of the soul (Hooykaas 1966, 33)	5a. appropriately, only depicted on Tunggal, the supreme god in wayang.
1a. kewaca-mudra (S. kavaca-mudra)	2a. armour; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa (see above redaya-mudra; also Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 27. - which does not tally with arm gesture called kewaca-mudra on puppet).[17]	4a. The aim according to padanda Manuaba: concentration on the god, Sang Hyang Widi b. Direction: north west World: immaterial. Effect: to ward off poison (Hooykaas, 1966, 33).	5a. appropriately, only depicted on Tunggal, indicating his thoughts are concentrated; he never falters in his aim to protect the world.

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. saro-mudra (S: saro-mudra)	2a. arrow; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa (see redaya-mudra; also Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 27).	4a. acoording to the padanda Manuaba: its aim is to worship, puja, and give respect, hormat (Ind.) to the "seat" palinggihan (A), of the goddess Gangga.	5a. the goddess Gangga represents the holy river Gangga (Ganges), the waters of which can be identified with tirta kemandalu and amerta, water of immortality. Amerta is associated with Wisnu, the god of water and fertility. The mudra indicates the desire to protect the land and bring it prosperity. So, mainly seen on satriya of the Pandawa camp, but also members of the Korawa camp.
			b. Direction: south east. World: immaterial. Effect: annihilation of sorrow (Hooykaas, 1966, 33).	
c. (not called a mudra by the villagers)			c. Villagers interpretation: shows ability to concentrate and control energy.	c. So, mainly seen on satriya of the Pandawa camp.

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. cakra-mudra (S: " ")	2a. wheel; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa (see redaya mudra; also Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 26 - which resembles the gesture on puppets).	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: its aim is to give respect to the trisakti, the trinity - Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa.	5a. indicates that the aims are not always constant: sometimes they are destructive (representing Siwa), sometimes creative (representing Brahma), & sometimes they desire to bring prosperity (representing Wisnu). So, seen on more members of the Korawa than Pandawa camp (see also chapter on servants where the mudra is given a different interpretation).
			b. Direction: north World: material Effect: to purify frustrations (Hooykaas, 1966, 33).	
c. (not called a mudra by the villagers)			c. Villagers interpretation: suggests wavering concentration.	c. So, seen on more Korawas than Pandawas.

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. danuh-mudra (S; dhanu-mudra)	2a. bow; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa (see redaya mudra; also Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 27 - which resembles the gesture on puppets).	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: its aim is to worship and give respect to the "seat" palinggihan(A) of Sang Hyang Widi, requesting that all diversities may be unified and absorbed in Him. b. Direction: north World: immaterial. Aim: to deter all cruelty.	5a. there is a close relationship between Widi and Bayu, the god of wind and energy; the first act of creation was bayu. So, this gesture is seen on Bima & Hanuman, whose genitor is Bayu. It indicates their energey is directed to Widi to ensure His concentration will not falter; thus the land will prosper.

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. padma-mudra (S:" ")	2a. lotus; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa (see also redaya-mudra; see Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 26).	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: to worship and give respect to the "seat" of Sang Hyang Widi, and to ask Him to descend.	5a. to request protection So, seen on the ogre Gundul. His character is base; thus he supplicates the God to protect him. (see also chapter on servants where the mudra is given a different interpretation).
			b. Direction: centre World: material. Effect: giving happiness to the soul in the heart (Hooykaas, 1966,33).	
c. (not called a mudra by the villagers)			c. indicates a grasping nature.	c. So, appropriately seen on Gundul.
1a. sika-mudra (S: śikhā-mudra cont. over-leaf	2a. top; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa (see also redaya-mudra; also Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 27 - which resembles the gesture on puppets).	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: to worship and give respect to the "seat" of Brahma & his wife, Saraswati.	5a. to request protection & spiritual development. So, seen on ogres. They are at a low stage of development & have no knowledge

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
(sika-mudra)			b. Direction: SW World: immaterial Effect: (probably to avert an aspect of Rudra (Hooykaas, 1966, 33).	5a. of the fine arts, literature or letters; thus they supplicate Saraswati, the goddess of literature and eloquence that in their next incarnation they may become humans who can learn to read & write. This would enable them to learn self-control and improve their darma, duty or morality.
1a. waspenek	2a. (a long thumb nail)	3a. (seen in other theatre forms on the same characters).		5a. considered a weapon with which to pierce & break things. It is a special attribute of Bima, Hanuman.

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. putih	2a. white	3a. in the nine-fold division of the cosmos, nawa-sanga, white is associated with Iswara (see text; also poem Aji Kembang).	4a. it is the most ritually pure, pinih suci, colour. No blemishes disturb its surface. A calm, unruffled nature is suggested.	5a.-d. so, appropriately seen on the supreme god Tunggal & the monkey-god Hanuman who remains celibate, brahmacari.
		b. White is the standard colour of Iswara (sometimes also of Siwa; see Swellengrebel, 1960,45). (It is used in other theatre forms).	b. It reflects a refined, alus, characters. One who is self-controlled (as principally exhibited in sexual matters) & who does not lust for material things. He has a soft, sweet, manis, voice.	(However, no reasons are given for why one or two ogres or witches are white, although informants then refer to the colour as putih melé, or corpse-like white, see text).
		c. "	c. It suggests a state of detachment parallel to that of Buddahood (cf. v.d.T.).	
		d. Principal dress colour of all ritual practitioners. (Also worn by widows; v.d.T.).	d. It suggests ritual purity.	All colours on puppets containing white are associated with Iswara & his qualities.
		e. White is used in various contexts to indicate Iswara: e.g. petals in offerings; white parasols & banners during odalan in Besakih; clay		

cont. over-leaf

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
(putih)		e.walls may be painted in white, red & black, representing Iswara, Brahma & Wisnu (see also Swellengrebel, 1960, 47-51) f.Siwa (or Iswara; see op. cit.45) who is the centrifugal-tendency, tamas, is white.[19]		
1a.kuning cont. over-leaf	2a.yellow	3a.in the nawa-sanga & panca-déwata, yellow is associated with the god Mahadéwa (see text). (Used in other theatre forms). b.yellow is the standard colour of Mahadéwa.	4a.it implies purity - but is less so than white - and attachment to the world, referred to as semangat (Ind.) entusiastic and active. b.A Bodisattwa-like state is indicated: one who is attached to the world & has compassion for his fellow-beings.	5a.- d.All the colours on puppets containing yellow are associated with Mahadewa & the above qualities. So, appropriately, even the purest satriya, Yudistira, is yellowish white putih susu, (although he has an under-coat of white).

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
(kuning)		c. The waist cloth of ritual practitioners, especially of village priests, pamangku, are often yellow. They stand closer to the villagers than high priests for they officiate in all household ceremonies of all castes.	c. Indicates purity & attachment to the world.	
		d. In the Javanese-Balinese calendar Mahadéwa presides over the 2nd week, landep (see Goris in Swellengrebel, 1960,117-21).[10]	d. One who is born in this week is loved by senior satriya and friends, is beautiful, sharp in his thoughts & follows a set course. He is also gentle & generous, & likes making others happy.	
		e. Yellow is used in various cultural domains to indicate Mahadéwa (see white 3e.).		

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. selem	2a. black (black & blue may be used interchangeably at times; see blue)	3a. in the nawa-sanga, black is associated with the god Wisnu (see text).	4a. it reflects intelligence, steadfastness, bravery and skill. A character, associated with this colour, is not easily swayed from following the path of virtue.	5a. - g. indicate that black is on the whole an ambiguous colour. So, it is rarely shown on puppets. Kresna, who is an incarnation of Wisnu, is never black or grey. Only Bima who is an ambiguous character (Chapter 6) is sometimes grey. All colours on puppets containing black, however, are associated with Wisnu and the qualities listed here.
		b. Black is the standard colour of Wisnu, the god of water & fertility, associated with the direction kaja, "upstream" & the mountains (Swellengrebel, 1960, 37-8).	b. It is a "cool", tis colour: water is cooling and refreshing; it brings fertility & prosperity to the land.	
		c. "	c. It also implies harmony in the family, by "cooling", ngetisin, the atmosphere.	
		d. It is associated with night - the absence of light.	d. So, it is associated with witchcraft - witches emerge mainly at night - and black magic, pengiwa (see Chapter 9).	

cont. over-leaf

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
(selem)		e. Darkness is also linked to nyepi, the Hindu-Balinese new year. It is a day of silence when no light or fire is permitted (Goris in Swellengrebel, 1960, 119).	e. This is a time of meditation and withdrawal.	
		f. It is rarely worn.		
		g. In the Javanese-Balinese calendar Wisnu presides over the 17th week, krulut (op.cit.117-21).[20]	g. One who is born in this week is steadfast, intelligent, sometimes devious. He knows well how to use water. He is happy with his family & can make others happy. He is a fluent talker.	
		h. Black is used in various cultural contexts. (see white 3e; in offerings, blue flower petals are used to indicate Wisnu).		
		i. Wisnu, who is the centripetal tendency, sattwa, is black.[19]		

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. pelung	2a. blue (blue & black may be used interchangeably at times)	3a. in the nawa-sanga, blue is associated with the god Sambu (see text).		5a. appropriately, Kresna & some brahmana priests are usually light blue. All colours on puppets containing blue are associated with Wisnu (or Sambu) & to the related qualities.
		b. In the folk tradition blue is also associated with Wisnu & kaja, "upstream" & to the mountains (Swellengrebel, 1960, 37-8).	4a. It reflects all the positive qualities of black & Wisnu & none of the negative ones, see black 4a.-c.	
		c. It seems rarely to be worn.		
		d. In the Javanese-Balinese calendar, Sambu presides over the 9th week, julungwang (see Goris in Swellengrebel, 1960, 117-21).[20]	d. One who is born in this week is handsome some, lively, charming, generous & loved by many. He is careful & agreable when prevented from doing something. He has a fragrant smell.	
		e. Blue is used in other cultural contexts to indicate Wisnu (or Sambu): e.g. blue petals in offerings.		

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. barak	2a. red	3a. in the nawa-sanga, red is associated with the god Brahma (see text). (It is used in other theatre forms).	4a. it reflects a proud, angry, impulsive & coarse nature; one who is often greedy & avaricious. Such a person has a loud, harsh voice.	5a. - f. indicate that on the whole red is a negative colour. So, the body colours of some Korawa members & ogres contain some red.
		b. Red is the standard colour of Brahma.	b. It indicates boldness & courage - qualities which can be used for noble or ignoble ends.	All colours on puppets containing red are associated with Brahma and the qualities listed.
		c. Brahma is the god of fire who is associated with the unfavourable direction, kelod, "downstream" & to the sea (Swellengrebel, 1960, 37-8).	c. It is a "hot", panes, colour: it implies causing disturbance, memanesin, in the village sphere - usually by instigating others with "hot" words which cause strife & tension.	
		d. "	d. Black magic, pengiwa, is associated with red & Brahma. A note here is added: the core of Brahma is good; it is his rays which are hot & could scorch others.	
cont. over-leaf		e. Brahmana priests often wear red hats when officiating.	e. I obtained no reasons for this.	

Feature: colour

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
(barak)		f. In the Javanese-Balinese calendar Brahma presides over the 14th week, medangsia (Goris in Swellengrebel, 1960,119).[20]	f. One who is born in this week is like hot live coals, panas bara (Ind). He rules with a firm hand. He can influence others, but is not always patient when he does not achieve his ends. He is careful with material things.	
		g. Red is used in various cultural contexts (see white 3e).		
		h. Brahma, who is the result of Wisnu's & Siwa's opposition & equilibrium, rajas, is red.[19]		

Feature: colour (combined colours)

Balinese name	Translation
1. abu	1. ash (the powdery residue from a fire)
2a. barak nguda	2a. red; light (nguda also means young, unripe & inexperienced, v.E.)
b. dadu [11]	b. pink
3. barak wayah	3. red; dark (wayah also means old & unripe, v.d.T.)
4a. gadang biasa	4a. green; ordinary
b. gadang pelosor biu	b. green of a not yet opened banana leaf (a soft yellowish green)
5. gadang nguda	5. green; light
6. gadang wayah	6. green; dark
7. gadang pelosor biu wayah	7. green of a not yet opened banana leaf; dark
8. kedapan durian biasa	8. young leaves of a durian plant (which are a subdued green); ordinary
9. kedapan durian nguda	9. young leaves of a durian plant (which are a subdued green); light
10. kedapan durian wayah	10. young leaves of a durian plant (which are a subdued green); dark
11a. kudrang biasa	11a. orange; ordinary
b. nasak gedang wayah	b. a ripe papaya (the warm orange of a papaya fruit); dark
12a. kudrang nguda	12a. orange; light
b. nasak gedang biasa	b. a ripe papaya; ordinary
13a. kudrang wayah	13a. orange; dark
b. kuwanta	b. (meaning unknown)
14. pelung langit	14. blue; sky
15a. pelung nguda [12]	15a. blue; light
b. taluh cètèrung	b. egg; bird called cètèrung (the light blue colour of the egg of a small bird, cètèrung, who mainly lives in the rice fields, v.d.T.)
16a. pelung daki	16a. blue; dirty
b. pelung abu	b. blue; ash

cont. over-leaf

Feature: colour (combined colours)

Balinese name	Translation
17. putih susu	17. white; milk, breast (yellowish white like mother's milk)
18. soklat biasa	18. chocolate; ordinary
19. soklat nguda	19. chocolate; light
20a. soklat wayah b. nasak manggis	20a. chocolate; dark b. ripe mangosteen (the deep brown of a mangosteen fruit which has a reddish glow)
21. tangi biasa	21. purple; ordinary
22. tangi nguda	22. purple; light
23. ulangkrik	23. (meaning unknown; found only on Tualèn, see Chapter 7 on the servants).

Feature: extras (painted)

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. kulit mebulu	2a. skin; feathers (body hair)	3a. the term mainly refers to animal hair or bird feathers, although it can be used of the body hair on humans.	4a. it implies the animal world. On humans, body hair is considered distasteful & coarse & so, called bulu to distinguish it from head hair, roma(A) or bok(B) (see Covarrubias, 1965,139).	5a. appropriately, mainly seen on members of the Korawa camp, animals & ogres.
1a. bulénan	2a. name of skin rash(cf.v.E.)	3a. the skin is covered in small patches which appear as whitish spots. These spread if not checked (see Covarrubias, 1965,352).	4a. it indicates not only a physical defect, but also ritual impurity (see Chapter 7 on the servants).	5a. appropriately, seen only on one or two ogres.

Feature: extras (painted)

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. polèng	2a. black & white checkered - of cloth (the borders of which are red; cf.v.d.T.).	3a. a cloth in polèng design is mainly used during ceremonies to adorn a shrine, kulkul, hollow tree trunk to give signals, & statues of such spiritually developed characters as Wisnu, Kresna or Tualèn. (It is used in other theatre forms).	4a. the cloth implies ritual purity.	5a. the reasons such important characters as the god Bayu, Bima or Hanuman wear polèng are complex. (see Chapter 7 & 8).
		b. "	b. Black and white reflects the state of the world & the beings in it: ritually pure, suci, as well as impure, leteh, & evil, kaon (A).	
		c. "	c. Black & white refers to the cosmic dualities (see Chapter 8).	
		d. "	d. Black, white & red signifies the Trimurti, the Trinity: Wisnu, Siwa (Iswara) & Brahma.	

Notes on the charts

1. Interpretation of context generally implies folk interpretations of a given feature. Textual or scholarly comments may, however, supplement these; in such cases the scholar is indicated.
2. Many of the headdress as well as other features portrayed on puppets are seen in other theatre forms, in particular arja, operetta, topeng, masked dance, and wayang wong, dance drama. I did not, however, investigate the incidents of this systematically. Here only a rough index is given of when a given feature occurs in another dramatic form.
3. Van Eck (1876) translates gelung (A) or pusung (B) as a hair knot mainly found on women. Van der Tuuk (1897) and Sugriwa (1963,26) use the term gelung to imply headdress. Mellema (1954,22), in discussing Javanese puppets, suggests that gelung can be translated as headdress, but is more properly called hairdress.
4. Sugriwa (1963,26) points out that the Garuda head is set low on the headdress gelung patih, indicating low status. All my other informants called this headdress kekenduan, which in their collections is worn by high ranking satriya such as Drupada. The position of the Garuda head is to them of no consequence.
5. See Moerdowo (1973,18) for a photograph of a Brahmana priest with a tight hair knot and flower stuck into the hair similar to the hairdress or headdress with flower worn by Yudistira.
6. A similar looking headdress is more appropriately worn, for example, by Bagus Umbara, one of the names of Panji (Hooykaas,1968,27).
7. Hinzler (1975,70) uses udeng-udengan to indicate a type of cloth headgear worn by the lady-in-waiting, the Condong. According to my informants she wears a type of hair bun, pusung,
8. Van der Tuuk (1897) says that the semayut is a cord usually made of gringsing material or white in colour. My informants, however, described semayut as a shawl. Such a shawl is in fact seen on puppets representing brahmana priests or sages, and in life on brahmana priests.
9. My informants called this band anteng. Underneath it in life, but hardly visible, is another band, blebet, which is first wound tightly around the upper part of the body.
10. Friederich (1959, 66-70)describes in some detail the dress and ornaments of brahmana priests, panditas, and gods. For comparative purposes, the main items which seem to correspond either visually or terminologically with those on puppets as indicated on the charts are included here as follows:

cont. over-leaf

Notes on charts (cont.)

On brahmana priests: jata, red or white cap; kesabarana (in India mukuta), hair ornaments; kundala, ear-rings, although these are shaped like an egg (not like those on puppets); abarana, most of the other articles of attire; and several gold rings with rubies which, according to Friederich, possess special supernatural power.

On gods: gelung kurung, spherical cap worn only by Siwa; gelung candi, headdress on the forehead; Guruda mungkur; kundala, ear-rings; sekar taji, the pointed ornaments immediately behind the ear; gelang kana, armlets; gelang, bangles, gelang batis, anklets; babedati, breast-band; naga wangsul (the serpent of Bali), a band hanging from the shoulders to the stomach; babadong, the upper band around the hips; kamben, cloth; jawat, cloth tail; and jalèr, breeches. (Balinese spelling is used here).

Similar dress items and ornaments are seen on statues and characters on reliefs of temples, especially those of the East Javanese period from C13-15 century, see illustrations in Kempers, 1959. To the best of my knowledge, however, the names of these are unknown.

11. I obtained no further information on the third eye of the two gods; van der Tuuk (1897) mentions trinetra, but does not explain its meaning. (For India, see Danielou, 1964,214). On other characters, such as Hanuman or Antaboga, the 'jewel', manik, on the forehead is said to be purely ornamental.

12. Covarrubias (1965,192) distinguishes between the eye forms of males and females on paintings: the lower eye line of the former is straight while the line of the latter is curved. This distinction does not apply to puppets who have sumpé eyes. Covarrubias also mentions the round ogre eye.

13. For how language levels can be used to show coarseness, see hair in text, where this is particularly evident.

14. Kumel is dirt from body effluence. It refers to effluence from the nose, mouth, blood, sweat, pus, and so forth. It does not include urine or faeces. It is a state of continuing dirt and may also indicate impurity, as in the case of mother and child after birth; they are kumel until lepas aon (literally translated the "loosing of ashes"; Belo, 1970,8), a purification ceremony has taken place. The point here is that sharp teeth are considered ritually impure.

15. The padanda Gedé Manuaba is renowned for his extensive knowledge on religious matters. His main areas of practice are the districts of Ubud, Payangan and Tengahpadang in Gianyar. His interpretations of mudra differ from those of Hooykaas (1966). In an oral communication, Hooykaas confirmed that padanda Siwa could vary considerably in their interpretations of mudra, see text.

cont. over-leaf

Notes on charts (cont.)

16. In Sang Hyang Widi all the figures of the Balinese world of the gods and temple cult seem to find their higher unity. Sang and hyang are designations of the more-than-human, the holy, the divine (Swellengrebel, 1960,52).

17. Mudra generally refer to hand gestures. It is interesting that the padanda Manuaba uses kewaca(A: coat)-mudra to describe the position of Tunggal's arms next to the body.

18. Tirta kemandalu is one of the holy waters a brahmana priest prepares; it is needed for the death ritual. It originates from the four sides of the Méru, the Mountain of the World (Hooykaas, 1973b,10). My informants, who in this case were dalang, equated this water, which they indicated implies repeated rejuvenation, with amerta, the elixir of immortality.

19. Only Sugriwa and members of the university interviewed knew the association of white, black and red with tamas, sattwa and rajas respectively.

20. There is a close connection between the Balinese ideas on the use of colour on puppets and more general ideas about character and colour. So, it is inadequate to consider the former out of context. The connection between colour and character is the most clear in horoscopes which link personal traits to colour by virtue of birth being governed by weeks over which a particular god presides. From a comparison of official Hindu Dharma calendars and the interpretation of colour in wayang it is evident that there is a close, but complex connection of the two. Ideas of colour in wayang are part of a more general system, and so it is important to see how they fit with wider beliefs. (The Balinese ideas expressed here have been summed up from the back of the Hindu Dharma Kalender, 1971).

21. a. & b. refer to different names of the same colour. As there are no agreed contextual meanings attributed to the mixed colours, this category is not included here.

22. In all collections examined the puppet Kresna (who is also used for Wisnu) is painted light blue or light or mid green. Dalangs say that the first tone refers to the colour of water and appropriate as Wisnu (Kresna) is the god of water. Green refers to the result of sufficient water on the land: it is tanah mokoh(B) fat land, when the crops grow in abundance and the plants blossom. These colours are, however, seen on other characters: for example, sages may be light blue and Antaboga green. No such meaning is then attached to them. So, the interpretations seem to apply only to Kresna and are not included in the charts.

23. Soklat appears to be a loan word from chocolate.

Chapter 6. Important Individual Figures in the Shadow Play

It is evident that the parts of the puppets have a partly standardized significance for the Balinese, and so wayang iconography emerges as a system of communication expressing a wide range of important values of the society. To look at the parts in isolation is, however, misleading as they are combined to produce numerous individuals. At times these differ visually from one another only in nuances; at others they stand out by certain attributes as strikingly different. Much of this chapter is given over to describing some of the main figures as a whole and examing the folk and literary beliefs attached to them.

The characters referred to are primarily the main members of the two camps, the Pandawas and Korawas (Chapter 2). Foremost are the heroes, the five Pandawa brothers: Yudistira, Bima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadewa. The focus is on the three elder ones who have pronounced personalities of their own. Their main opponents among the Korawa brothers are Duryodana and Dursasana. The other important satriya are Kresna, the mentor of the Pandawas and an incarnation of the god Wisnu, Karna and Salya. The last two belong to the Korawa camp and are particularly interesting as their appearance tallies with their ambiguous positions in the play: Karna, while supporting Duryodana, is sired by the god Surya and is the half-brother of the Pandawas, and Salya, largely because of complex family ties, has split feelings between the camps. In examining Kresna and Salya, attention is drawn to Wisnumurti and Ludramurti. These towering puppets represent the transcendental states of gods or demons, and are the forms that Kresna and Salya can respectively assume. Apart

/for the above satriya and sudra servants.

who because of their special place in the shadow play are dealt with separately in the next chapter, one principal member of each further social category is described. These include the supreme god, Tunggal, Hanuman, the monkey-god and half brother of Bima, Drona, the brahmana priest, the Condong, the lady-in-waiting, and the ogre Kempana. Finally, mention is made of the most important scenic item, the Kakayonan.

The descriptions are based on dalangs' accounts which, for the most part, correspond to those of the villagers, except that they tend to be more elaborate. I have refrained as far as possible from bringing in my own interpretations. Balinese terms are also kept to a minimum and primarily included when they refer to important parts or individual traits to which the people draw attention; the names for the features and their translations are in any case found in the charts in the previous chapter. Although these figures are much more standardized than the servants and more cursorily described, it is apparent that the Balinese make a close connection between character and outward form. Other scholars have already noted this in life. Bateson and Mead have emphasized what they call the "body consciousness" of the native people - individuality and status being communicated by the posture and gestures of the body (1942, 9 & 26).

The further significance of the figures is then discussed in light of the folk and literary traditions. As we will see, the indigenous accounts of the characters often conform remarkably closely to the significance which may be inferred from their appearance. On a small number of occasions, these depart from it however substantially. This comes, for example, to the fore with Duryodana into whom all sorts of negative qualities seem to be read. Such discrepencies and other relevant observations are discussed

References may also be made to the literary profiles of the characters in Chapter 2 to investigate how far the visual accords with their portrayal in the epics.

Additional myths and folk beliefs are included about certain figures where the Balinese draw attention to them. These comprise, among other things, songs and ideas on wang, that is Chinese coins, kèpèng, with a picture of an agent in the centre.

A brief digression is here necessary to explain the significance of wang. Special coins, referred to as wang, are classified as magic and are thought to confer attributes on a person which vary according to the agent depicted. It is said that villagers find such coins by chance. Generally, they are felt to come from the gods and are made available to good people.[1] In the context of the shadow play, wang are of particular interest as the only characters portrayed on them are Bima, Arjuna, Kresna, Hanuman and the servants Tualèn and Merdah (see Chapter 7).[2] This already indicates their unusual position in the society. Further, the qualities the different wang impart highlight indigenous beliefs attached to these characters.

In looking at the figures two main principles are taken into account: social category or caste, and personal disposition as these are shown to underlie iconographic variations. The issue of social category and caste are dealt with primarily in Chapter 8 and so only a few words need to be said about them here. The social groups represented by the puppets comprise the four castes or peoples, caturwangsa, found in the society, but also gods, ogres and animals. These may be categorized into an overall cosmic system in which each group has its particular duty or darma. It is these various culturally recognized groupings which are meant by social categories here. As the Balinese evaluation of the characters, most of

whom are satriya, can only be understood in the light of the darma of their group, brief mention is made of the darma of satirya (see Chapter 8 for the duties of the other groups). Satriya should above all be good administrators and warriors. It is also proper that they are virile lovers.

Finally, after the description of the individual figures, a short section is given to a discussion of kinship in wayang. With the help of diagrams, the main similarities and variations of features of members of the Pandawa Korawa and Kresna's descent line are examined. These mainly show ties through males. The only females included are those represented by puppets which are never used to replace other characters. It becomes evident that, on the one hand genealogical connections across generations or between siblings may be clearly manifest, on the other individuals may differ substantially from their kin. The reasons for this are looked at and what it says about their roles in the shadow play.

In turning to the figures, it is perhaps appropiate to describe first the five Pandawa brothers as they are the heroes of most of the stories. They are followed by the Korawa brothers.

Yudistira (Fig. 1)

Height: 28cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: yellowish white, putih susu (all collections examined)

The most prominent characteristic of the face is its delicacy. He has slit eyes and his expression is one of composure, ida nyurianin kalem. He has a delicate, manis, mouth. His hair is worn as a full coil at the nape generally referred to as a headdress, called pepusungan. A pepusungan is seen on brahmana priests in Bali and is the main item indicating his leading to the brahmanical way of life.

He wears simple clothes. The cloth of the dress is swept up between

the legs, but left to fall over the back one leg, bulat biasa mecingcingan. He has few ornaments, ear- and finger- rings and simple bangles.

The delicacay of Yudistira's facial features, his thin, yellowish white body, scantly clad and ornamented all show that he is gentle, restrained and modest, darma (see van Eck 1876, who gives the same interpretation of darma).

Yudistira's appearance bears out in large part the description of him in the Mahabrata. He is ill-suited to war which is antithetical to his gentle nature. It is only on the instigation of Kresna that he kills Salya with his weapon, the book Kalimahosada (Chapter 2).

To the villagers Yudistira is a somewhat anaemic character. While he is recommended for his modesty and self-control, at the same time he is not held to be a good satriya; he follows more closely the brahmana darma, or duty. Only dubious respect is given to him. He is praised however for his sensitive feelings and family loyalty. This emerges in the following story, taken from the Cantakaparwa (see note 6, Chapter 5):

> Yudistira went into the forest with his brothers to fetch water. While there, they died; only he remained alive. His genitor the god Darma then came to him in the form of an ogre and tempted him to choose out of his brothers one to be brought back to life. Yudistira chose either Nakula or Sahadéwa. The god Darma was pleased as thereby Yudistira showed his fairness and love for his younger brothers born from another mother. So, Kunti would be represented by one son, Yudistira, and Madrim by one of the twins, either Nakula or Sahadéwa.

(see illustration of kin ties, Diagram I, sheet 1, Chapter 2)

Bima (Fig. 2)

Height: 48cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: dark brown, soklat wayah (Peliatan collection)
grey, abu (Ewer's and Badra's collection)

Bima is a powerful looking character. He has round eyes which glow

like twin suns, sinaran surya kembar, when he is angry. He has a long nose and his mouth is set in a stern, composed expression, lambèn ida sebeng, kalem. He flaunts a full moustache the ends of which are twirled, cerawis ida nyempang, mepelintir. This moustache gives him a terrifying appearance, ida aèng.

He wears a crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang. His dress is scanty and in a black and white checkered design, polèng. The cloth is swept up between the legs leaving the buttocks entirely exposed. A fold of the dress hangs as a prominent tail between the legs, bulat genting ngel-èbèr.

Bima stands with his legs far apart and his body is large and powerfully built, ragan ida pesak ganggas, kerep. He is also distinguished by his long thumb nails called waspenek. He uses these weapons to kill adversaries and pierce or tear through objects.

Bima's strength and fierceness in battle come to the fore in the epic literature and in the folk tradition. The villagers further point out that Bima's appearance as a whole shows that he is hot-headed, stupid and often hard-hearted, though on occasions he can be compassionate. His hard-heartness is associated with his stupidity, lack of self-control, and tendency to indulge to excess in strong drink, i.e. berem or arak. He is also believed to possess supernatural power (see Chapter 8). It is of interest that it is this attribute together with great strength that the finder of wang Bima is said to attain.

In discussing Bima, my informants drew attention to two myths both of which are summarized here as they are considered important. Each illustrates certain aspects of his complex character. In the first it is

told how he obtained his black and white checkered cloth. His simplicity and unsophistication are the focus:

> The ogress Dimbi encountered Bima in the woods and felt strongly attracted to this artless, strong man who was almost naked, except for a scanty dress. She took on the form of a beautiful woman. At first Bima did not want to marry her as she was an ogress. His mother, Kunti, favoured the union which accordingly took place. As a sign of her faithfulness, Dimbi handed him a piece of black and white checkered cloth. Bima gave some of this cloth to his two servants, Tualèn and Merdah, as they had accompanied him during the venture.
>
> (said to be taken from the Cantakaparwa, see note 6, Chapter 5)

The second myth - told in very brief - is a village version of the well known prose text, Dewaruci (see Prijohoetoma, 1934; also Mangkunagara VII on Bima Suci, 1957, 16-8). This myth has great significance as it highlights Bima's mystic nature and his special relationship to the supreme god Tunggal. His unusual way of obtaining knowledge should be noted in this particular version of the myth. It also has a strong sexual component which may have Tantric overtones, (see section on kinship), although this cannot be stated with any certainty:

> Drona requested Bima to fetch from the forest some holy water, tirta kemandalu (see note 18 in the charts, Chapter 5), which has special purificatory powers. Drona deliberately lied to Bima as he knew the forest was full of ogres and he hoped one of them would kill the mighty Pandawa brother. Thereby the strength of the Pandawas would be greatly reduced.
>
> So Bima went to the forest to look for the holy water. There he was attacked by a fierce ogre, but he slit his throat with his long thumb nails, waspenek. As the soul of the ogre departed from its body, it took on the form of the god Indra. Indra paid homage to Bima and asked his forgiveness for having attacked him. Bima pointed out that it was not proper for a god to ask forgiveness from a mortal. He then cut off the ogre's head and brought it back to Drona. Drona was astonished to see Bima and told him now that the holy water was in the middle of the ocean.
>
> When Bima arrived at the shore of the ocean, large snakes approached him with the intention of eating him, but he cut off their heads. As he continued into the waters, he met his death. It became completely dark and the heavens, swarga, swayed in sorrow for the brave

prince. The supreme god Tunggal realized what had happened and had compassion with Bima and brought him back to life. He then told Bima that if he wished to obtain the holy water he would have to enter his (the god's) body as it was kept there. Bima was amazed as in front of him he saw a tiny figure.

Bima then asked the god several questions. Why did man have to die? Why did man dream? What was the purest thing in the world? Tunggal replied as follows. Death takes place at a certain stage in man's life when the gods have left the body. When man dreams his soul leaves the body through the phallus and wanders around. Nothing on earth is perfect. Apart from the god of love, Semara, all the gods are still impure. Even the flowers used for worshipping are not completely pure.

Having answered Bima's questions, Tunggal spread apart his legs and told the prince to enter his body through his phallus. When Bima entered he found himself in swarga and there the holy water, tirta kemandalu, was kept in a golden casket in a five-tiered mèru, shrine. He took the casket and returned home.

His family rejoiced when they saw Bima as they thought he had been killed. Bima then offered the casket to Drona. The priest, though, did not believe it contained holy water and flung it away. At that moment Tunggal entered Bima's body and Bima cursed Drona who became seriously ill. The priest cried bitterly and begged Bima's forgiveness for his actions. Bima did not think it fitting that his former teacher should ask his pardon and forgave him.

(story, lakon, Dewaruci as told by I Badra)

Mangkunagara VII (1957) for Java has emphasized the connection of the myth with semadi which in Indian yoga aims at salvation. For the Balinese, it mainly illustrates Bima's close relationship with the supreme god Tunggal. He is the prince whom the god loves the most, for, although he is stupid, he is honest and single-minded.

Bima is clearly a complex figure. His appearance mirrors to the villagers many of the qualities with which he is attributed. These do not, I think account completely however for his unusual form which will be commented on again later.

Arjuna (Fig. 3)

Height: 39cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: yellowish white, putih susu (in all collcetions examined)

Arjuna is a slender, refined-looking, alus, satriya. The face is delicate, manis. The forehead forms a straight line with the nose. His eyes are slit and the mouth finely cut, manis. He is also characterized by an elegant moustache, cerawis caplin.

He wears a crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang. The cloth of his dress is gracefully swept up between the legs in a style known as bulat biasa mecingcingan. As he is poor, the kingdom having been taken over by Duryodana, his jewellery is simple.

As a whole he is described as langsing, lanyar, best translated as delicate, well-proportioned and graceful. (Van der Tuuk, 1897, under aring, points out that this is mainly said of a beautiful girl.)

The Balinese say that, in view of his looks, it is unsurprising that women are attracted to this charming hero. He in turn has an affinity for them. He is said to have mata kerancang (Ind.), a simile which implies that like a woven basket with many gaps he has a roving eye. The wang with his image also stresses his appeal. Wang Rèjuna (Arjuna) makes the finder irresistably attractive to women, although it is added, that the wang does not work if the girl is approaced from the front; she must be taken by surprise from the rear.[3]

The villagers also say it is fitting that Arjuna should be comely as, according to their theory, he is generally thought to be the son of the god of love Semara. (In the Adiparwa, the god Indra is his genitor, Chapter 2.) It is his beauty which inspires love in both women and men. This is expressed as santukan ida meraga Semara sapasira sané kantun makta pikayunan kesemaran ida wantah ngerangsukin derika: because he is like Semara (has the body of Semara), whoever still has desire to love, enters there (feels love for Arjuna).[4]

It is further pointed out that Arjuna is the most important Pandawa brother as he is the middle one - the third out of five brothers. This position is analogous to Siwa who is the centre of the five-fold division of the cosmos symbolized by the pañca dewa (Chapter 5).

Without a doubt, to the Balinese interviewed, Arjuna is the most popular satriya. It should here be noted that in both the literature and oral tradition he is the one who adheres closest to the darma of satriya of the five brothers. So, in the Bagavad Gita (or Bismaparwa; Zoetmulder, 1974, 77-9) it is told how he engages his teachers and relatives in combat. His personal feelings are suppressed in the cause to of the satriya duty to be a good warrior irrespective of kin ties. He is also known to be a great lover.

It is interesting how the iconography reflects the virtues of an ideal satriya. He is a graceful, refined figure, but he stands out in no special way from other members of his camp many of whom have similar features. He is mainly distinguished by certain nuances: his straight, strong profile, tall stature, the delicate features and rhythmic flowing lines of his apparel. It can perhaps be suggested that it is his very typicality which shows conformity to the satriya darma.

Nakula and Sahadéwa (Fig. 4)

Nakula and Sahadéwa are the youngest and most insignificant Pandawa brothers. They are twins. Nakula in some collections may be slightly taller than Sahadewa. Essentially, though, they are identical in looks and the puppets are interchangeable.

Height: 37cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: yellowish white, putih susu (all collections examined)

They have refined features. Their eyes are slit, and mouths delicate, manis. They wear the crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang and their dress style is bulat biasa mecingcingan, the cloth being swept up between the legs, but left to cover one leg. They are described as slender and graceful, langsing - but much less so than their taller brother Arjuna.

To one or two dalangs the twins' lack of consequence is best portrayed by the puppets used to represent them when in disguise as Grantika (C.34) and Tantipala (C.75). The items of wear are a play on the ones found on brahmana priests and sages. The coil of their headdress, pepusungan, is scallop-shaped and flares up at the back and their scarf appears to fall downwards as a bizarre tube through which the back legs protude.

Villagers say they are childish and immature. They enjoy to fool around and to gamble,[5] for instance, mecèki or metembing, with cards or Chinese coins, kepèng. They also have relatively minor roles in the epic.[6]

Duryodana (Fig. 5)

Height: 43cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: mid orange, kudrang biasa (all collections examined)

Duryodana has round eyes and his mouth, with its thick lips, is set in a harsh, intimidating expression, lambé tebel, rengas.[7] He wears a long, splended moustache, cerawis nyempang.

His pepudaken headdress indicates his high rank as a senior ruling king. At the back is a large Garuda head, garuda munkgur. His dress style, bulat biasa mecingcingan, conveys some refinement. He is richly adorned. A 'backwing', kelat bau, rises from beneath the back arm. A girdle with a crow's head encircles his waist and a long band hangs from his neck. He also wears a chest band, necklace, ear- and finger-rings, bangles, armlets and anklets; the latter have tiny crow's heads.

While Duryodana has some distinction due to his well-proportioned, though large and compact body ragan ida nyepak, pesak, kerep and his apparel, his appearance, as indicated primarily by his facial features, is umprepossessing to the Balinese. To them it suggests a grasping, loba, hot-tempered, rangseng, and hardhearted, kereng pedih, character. Further, it indicates that he lies with ease and uses his friends to do his dirty work, ida demen mesèkang timpal.[8] In view of his looks it is unsuprising that he is also a coward who does not like to be in the front line during battle, but lags behind.

It cannot really be said that his phyiognomy mirrors all these negative qualities. In fact his slight outward refinement suggests a greater proximity to the Javanese interpretation of him. In Java he is commonly known as Suyudana. Su means good and so, his name already implies that he is not totally bad (Mellema, 1954, 69). In the parwa he mainly emerges as a powerful monarch and as such a worthy antagonist of the Pandawas, who is finally slain, in an unfair manner, by Bima (Chapter2).

In passing, it is worth noting that villagers point out that Duryodana's and Bima's great animosity to one another is due to the fact that they were born on the same day, metemu oton (this the Adiparwa does not substantiate). In Bali, when children of either sex are born within one family on the same day it is believed that they will dislike one another and continually quarrel.

Dursasana (Fig. 6)

Height: 42cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: mid-orange, kudrang biasa (all collections examined)

To the Balinese Dursasana is the coarsest, pinih kasar, satriya and this is vividly expressed by his form. He has round eyes which look upwards in a proud, bangga, manner. The heavy eyebrows, larik jeng, reinforce the harsh, rengas,[7] severe, sebeng, and haughty, bangga, expression of his face. He has a big nose and the lips of his coarse mouth are thick. He is also portrayed with an unattractive, weighty moustache, cerawis jeng, bushy side-burns and a beard. He is altogether a hairy man.

He wears an udeng-udengan headdress. The cloth of his dress is tucked between the legs and a dress tail hangs down between them, bulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan. A simple girdle encircles his waist and a long band hangs from his neck. His jewellery consists of a necklace, ear- and finger-rings, bangles, armlets and anklets.

Dursasana's appearance corresponds with his portrayal in the literature and folk tradition. It is he in the epic who brutally tears open Drupadi's gown and pulls loose her bound-up hair after the dice game in which Yudistira lost to the Korawas (Chapter 2).

To the Balinese he exemplifies all the worst qualities. He is proud, bad-tempered, harsh and disdainful of others. He also enjoys publically to shame his friends, ida demen nyacad timpal. These are all vices abhorred by the villagers who value solidarity. This is threatened by anyone who seeks to better himself at the expense of others.

Kresna (Fig. 7)

Height: 43cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: light green, gadang nguda (Peliatan and Ewer's collection; Ewer has an extra puppet of Kresna which is light blue)
dark green, gadang wayah (Badra's collection)

Wisnumurti (Fig. 8)

Height: 65cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: white, putih (Peliatan and Badra's collection)
grey, abu (Ewer's collection)

Apart from the Pandawa and Korawa brothers there are a few other high caste characters who are sufficiently important to be considered individually. Kresna is undoubtly the most complex and outstanding of these. He is one of the manisfestations in wayang of the god Wisnu, the other being Wisnumurti whose form Kresna can assume. Wisnumurti is a figure of monumental, but ultimate benevolent ferocity. I shall discuss both figures together.

Kresna is a refined, alus, looking satriya. His slit eyes look contemplatively, bengong-bengong, (or termenung in Indonesian), with great intelligence, peradnyan mepikayun, out onto the world.

He wears the elegant dress style, bulat biasa mecingcingan and his headdress, candi utama, shows he is an important king. He is decked out in jewellery which consists of a necklace, ear- and finger-rings, bangles, armlets and anklets, the last being depicted with tiny crow's heads. He also has a 'backwing', kelat bau.

Kresna is a slender, graceful figure. Special attention is given to his body colour which is either green or light blue. It is thought to show his relationship to Wisnu. Blue is the colour of Wisnu, and more immediately water, and green verdant fields (see note 22 in the charts in Chapter 5).

Wisnumurti, in contrast to Kresna, is a terrifying, aèng, looking character. His main head has three round eyes, each surmounted by a bushy

eyebrow. The mouth is broad with thick lips; tusks protude from either side. It is surrounded by bristles and a bushy beard encircles the chin. He wears the candi utama headdress, which is flanked by five small heads. On top, in the centre, the head is a replica in miniature of the principal one. On one side two ogre heads look out and on the other two tiger heads.

His short dress, with its long tail, bulat gantut melancingan, permits the fat, sturdy body, raga ebuh, pesak, to be seen. A scarf is thrown over one shoulder and wound around the chest. He also wears jewellery.

Each of the eight arms extending out from the torso, grasps in its hand an attribute which the Balinese refer to as a weapon. These are from top to bottom the discus, cakra, club, gada, incense bowl, dupa and forked spear, canggah on one side and on the other the lotus, padma, serpent arrow, naga-pasa, lance, tumpak, and trident, trisula. One of the main arms is folded in against the chest; in its hand a long sabre, berang, is held. (In the Peliatan collection; I Ewer's figure does not hold a lotus or trident.)

His stance, ngadeg ngayeg, with his legs set far apart, the knees bent outwards and the feet pointing to either side is one taken up by baris dancers (Chapter 5).

Kresna emerges in both the literature and oral tradition as divine in origin, being an incarnation of Wisnu, the Preserver. At the same time, in his actions he is a brilliant but completely amoral strategist in war.

The villagers elaborate on both aspects of his character. On the one hand, he is described as ida peradnyan ngelima seguk: this is a figurative expression which in essence means someone who is like a chameleon and who can adapt to any situation and always reciprocates in kind. Wang

Kresna primarily imparts intelligence. Its possessor is an able, fluent talker who persuades others to his point of view and has great clarity in arguments and decisions.

His divine nature is equally recognized. As Wisnu, the god of water and giver of fertility, he preserves (ngemertin derived from amerta, the elixir of immortality) all that exists in the world. This function is consistant with the notion of the satriya duty and is linked to ideas on divine kingship (Chapter8). An ideal king lays the foundation for a prosperous, peaceful kingdom by being harsh to his enemies, but gentle and generous with his subjects (cf. Worsley, 1972, 43-7). Kresna, as Wisnu incarnate, exemplifies these qualities.

It is relevant that the iconography of Kresna indicates his role as god-king to the people; his more unscrupulous side is not portrayed. His dress and ornaments imply high status, his facial features refinement, and the body colour signifies his relationship to Wisnu. Kresna's weapon, the discus, also reiterates to the villagers his role as benevolent ruler who sees to the fertility and prosperity of the land. As it is a discus it is spherical in shape and continually revolves. This is said to be like the path of water: it comes from the mountains and flows around the world, making the land rich.

The complexity of Kresna's character is perhaps best manifested in the towering figure of Wisnumurti - the tallest puppet in a collection. Its features are reminiscent of an ogre and its colour of white or grey has ambiguous implications (see colour, Chapter 5). The Balinese point out that the nine (or seven in I Ewer's collection) attributes are symbolic of the ninefold division of the cosmos, nawa-sanga, and express domination over the entire world[9]. Immense supernatural power (see Chapter 8) is attributed to Kresna when he assumes the form of Wisnumurti.

Karna (Fig. 9)

Height: 32cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: light brown, soklat nguda (Peliatan collection)
mid-orange, kudrang biasa (Ewer's collection)
yellowish white, putih susu (Badra's collection)

Karna resembles Kresna closely and so is not described here. Attention is drawn only to his variant parts and the special significance they may have.

He is distinguished by his headdress, candi kurung, which is linked to his high status as the son of Surya and the eldest Pandawa brother. His appearance as a whole mirrors nobility and refinement. The Balinese point out that only the reddish tone of his skin (in most collctions) mars his otherwise noble, refined appearance and shows his affinity to the Korawas.

In the parwa, Karna is a lofty character, and, despite Kresna's attempts to persuade him to join the Pandawas, remains loyal to Duryodana who has befriended him (Chapter 2). His fidelity is also praised by the Balinese.

Salya (Fig. 10)

Height:
Body colour: yellowish white, putih susu (all collections examined)

Ludramurti (Fig. 11)

Height: 63cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: dark brown, soklat wayah (Ewer's collection)
mid-green, gadang biasa (Badra's collection)

Salya, like Karna, differs from Kresna primarily in his headdress

and body colour, and so is not described. He wears the same headdress as Duryodana, the pepudakan. It is this item alone which shows his allegiance to the Korawas. In all other ways he resembles the most refined of the Pandawas, even in so far as his yellowish white skin is concerned.

Salya can manifest himself as Ludramurti who represents a state of malevolent ferocity. Ludramurti is a smaller and less imposing version of Wisnumurti (cf. the puppets of Wisnumurti and Ludramurti with illustrations of them in Hooykaas, 1971, 1-34). The fierce-looking central figure wears the candi utama headdress, yet it is much reduced in size and flanked only by two diminutive tiger heads. He has four arms extending out from the sturdy torso. From top to bottom on one side he holds the discus and sabre and on the other, the lotus and club.

It is perhaps unsuprising that Salya has so many features in common with the Pandawas. His ties of kinship (see diagram I, sheet 3, Chapter 2) show him to have loyalties split between the two camps. While ostensibly supporting the Korawas, he secretly aids the Pandawas. In the literature it is told how he undermines Karna's power. By treachery he prevents Karna's arrow from hitting Arjuna in the great war and Arjuna kills him instead (Chapter 2). With the death of Karna, the most able opponent of satriya status is slain.

The villagers speak disparagingly of Salya. Unlike Karna who remains loyal to those who have treated him well, he is a traitor whose feelings are split between the two camps, a characteristic described as plin-plan tuur lempur, double-faced and weak - such a person does not follow a straight path, is easily swayed by others, and deceives his friends.

In retrospect, it is interesting that all his physical features mirror refinement. These, though, are of no consequence to the Balinese as the

visual only stresses the fact that he is not part of his own side.

The folk tradition leaves unexplained Salya's ability to become Ludramurti. To my knowledge it also does not occur in the Mahabrata. In the Swargarohanaparwa (according to dalang Ewer)[10] it is told that he is an incarnation of Yama, the Lord of Death, and this may illustrate why he can assume the form of Ludramurti, who represents the transcendental state of anger of gods or demons.

Drona (Fig. 12)

Height: 32cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: light blue, pelung nguda (Peliatan and Badra's collection)
light brown, soklat nguda (Ewer's collection)

Drona is the most influential brahmana priest, padanda, represented. He has slit, 'bean-shaped', pijak, eyes (which may also be referred to as slit, sumpé) and the cheek folds show he is smiling. Dalangs explain that his pleasure is due to the fact that he has so many skilled pupils. (He was the former teacher of the Pandawa and Korawa brothers; Adiparwa.) A bushy beard encircles his fat chin. He has a long, splended moustache, cerawis nyempang. His face is pointed slightly upwards. This together with his other facial features gives him a crafty, underhand, cinging, expression.

His body, described as thin as he is old, is concealed by a long cloak and trousers. He wears a double-chained necklace, ear- and finger-rings and anklets. He holds a rosary, genitri, a sign that he is a padanda, for in life only priests possess rosaries.

One or two simple village dalangs say that his light blue colour is like that of a person with dirty blood, rah daki. Such a person is crafty and lies frequently.

Drona's cunning is brought out in both the literary and oral accounts. Despite this as a brahmana priest and teacher who is intelligent and powerful, he is respected by the Balinese. They, however, look down on him for using his abilities to cow people with his status, power and shrewdness, referred to as nuga tanding.

Condong (Fig. 13)

Height: 33cm.
Body colour: light blue, pelung nguda (Peliatan collection)
light green, gadang nguda (Ewers's collection)
dark green, gadang wayah (Badra's collection)

The Condong can be a major character in a performance when she frolics around with the servants (see Chapter 7). This is made feasible by her caste which, if specified at all, is wèsya. She does not exist in the epic literature. The pose of the Condong sets her apart from all other women represented. It is said to be a common dance position in Bali. The following song may be sung to her by one of the servants in the drama and is included as, to my informants, it aptly describes her:

Her scent is sweet-smelling and poignant,
Her lips are like the red flower, rijasa.
Her teeth are level and have a glow like that given off by the bug, tibangbung.[11]
Her appearance is like a lotus swaying on its stem.
Her hair is worn in two coils at the back of the head, nyelep ngatékung.[12]
Her breasts are firm and smooth like the outer side of two coconuts.
Her body is soft and limbs are double-jointed.
Her arms swing gracefully to and fro.
Her legs are attractively shaped like a pandanus flower.

Tunggal (Fig. 14)

Height: 25cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: white, putih (all collections examined)

Tunggal is the supreme god. He forms the apex of the hierarchy into which the wayang world is divided. He is a small, naked figure. His features are refined. The dots marking the centre of the forehead are said to represent a third eye, trinètra (see note 11 in charts, Chapter 5). He stands with his left foot flat on the spoke of a discus and the knee everted, so that the foot of the right leg, which is equally everted, fits neatly into the space at the back of the knee. His hands are lightly clasped in a ritual hand gesture (which may be referred to as redaya-mudra) above the navel so that the forearms are parallel to the ground with the elbows protuding out to each side (kewaca-mudra; on mudra, see Chapter 5). Tunggal's white body colour reflects purity.

Triple spiked ornaments thought to represent the trinity, trimurti, Brahma, Wisnu and Siwa, are fixed to various parts of his body: three around the head, one on each shoulder, elbow, knee, foot and one extends from the phallus. Additionally the four spokes of the discus end in spiked ornaments. This discus itself is set on a wide-open lotus.

It is clear from the literature that Tunggal represents an abstract idea of divinity (see Chapter 2). The Balinese whom I interviewed hesitate to comment on the god as it is felt that he is beyond understanding.

The way in which this transcendental being is conceived in Balinese art is interesting. His nakedness shows that he stands outside human society. He is also set apart from other gods who are clad like man. With Siwa it is only his four arms which separate him from the human world.

Hanuman (Fig. 15)

Height: 44½cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: white, putih (all collections examined)

Hanuman is the most important animal represented. His two round eyes peer out past the small, flat nose. A decorative mark, referred to as a jewel, manik, is placed in the centre of the forehead above the bushy eyebrows. His open mouth reveals tusks and sharp teeth.

His head is crowned with the supit urang headdress. The cloth of his dress is tucked loosely between the legs. It is rolled high at the back to give the tail freedom to mount. A long dress tail hangs between the legs, bulat gantut melancingan. The pattern of the dress is black and white check.

He has a strong, but slender body and stands with his legs set far apart. He is also distinguished by his long thumb nails, waspenek, which he uses as weapons. His white skin mirrors his purity. Being a monkey he is very hairy.

Hanuman is mainly known from the Ramayana. Despite this he is indispensible to all collections which are generally based on the parwa (Chapter 1). His appearance, in correspondance with the epic and folk tradition, discloses little individuality. Both emphasize primarily his prowess and supernatural power. In this light it is fitting that wang Hanuman grants the finder strength and supernatural power.

The monkey-god has a special place in the performance: he stands outside the ordinary wayang system for he is not restricted to any story and his role is not prescribed.

Kempana (Fig. 16)

Height: 50cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: dark brown, soklat wayah, with skin sores, bulénan (Peliatan collection)

The ogre whom I consider here, Kempana, is a good representative of his social category which personifies ferocity and savagery above all. Dalangs describe his appearance as terrifying, ida aèng. He has round eyes and his broad mouth with its thick lips is open to display tusks and sharp teeth. Bushy eyebrows surmount the eyes. Bristles and a short, ragged beard encircle his mouth and chin respectively, while his unruly, curly hair escapes from beneath the crown.

His neck is stumpy. He wears a short loin cloth, wastra gantut, and some jewellery. He is large and powerfully built, ragan ida pesak gangges, kerep. His reddish brown colour highlights his violent, uncontrolled nature and his skin sores, bulénan, imply ritual impurity, as well as a character defect (see Dèlem, Chapter 7).

In the epics ogres (with a few exceptions) emerge as wild and uncontrolled. They devour humans. To the villagers ogres are lawless and disordered. This is described as sing demen garadag garadug: (they) do not like to follow the rules and customs of the community.

Kakayonan (or Gagunungan as the figure is sometimes called; Fig. 17)

Height: 53cm. (Peliatan collection)
Colour: varigated - blue, black, yellow, red and white (all collections examined)

The Kakayonan or Gagunungan is the most ritually significant scenic item. Kakayonan may be derived from kayu (B: tree) and Gagunungan from gunung (mountain). Dalangs point out that the iconography of the puppet corresponds to its designations, being essentially a combination of mountain and tree. Its oval outline alludes to a mountain as do the caves and stones at its foot. Rising from a bulb above the centre of the caves springs a tree. Branches, four to each side, spread out from its straight,

tapering trunk. The spirals and curves forming the background suggest twigs, sprays, leaves, buds and blossoms.

Much has been written about the Kakayonan and the symbols it is often said to refer to: the Mountain of the gods, Mahameru, and the Tree of Life, the Celestial Wishing-Tree. Among the scholars who have put forward arguments about the nature of the Kakayonan in Java are Kats (1923), Hidding (1931), Rassers (1959) and Bosch (1960), to mention a few (of the principal ones). The symbolism is far-reaching and complex and I shall restrict myself to a discussion of its significance in Bali. As the Kakayonan does not exist in the epics, four different possible souces of information are taken into consideration: its meaning and transformations in the performance, the philosopbical treatise, the Darma Pawayangan (Hooykaas, 1973), indigenous interpretations and the iconography

The Kakayonan marks the beginning and end of a play or scene, where it serves like the curtain in western theatre. It also establishes the setting of the play, the mythical world of wayang. The dalang can use the figure to represent a wide range of phenomena: mountains, stones, the sea, bathing places of the heavenly nymphs, the forest, wind, rain, fire or a palace. When it is waved, referred to as 'dancing', mesolah, to suggest wind, this is said to be either sweet-scented or foul-smelling depending on context. The former announces the departure of main Pandawa heroes; the latter the departure of senior Korawas or the main brahmana teachers. In the same way, as rain with flowers it shows that an important Pandawa member has been killed, while as drizzle or rain together with sun it is a sign that a Korawa has died (the type of rain is indicated in the passages which the dalang narrates). The Kakayonan also dances when such characters as Yudistira, Arjuna, Kresna, Salya or witches are inducing others

to sleep. Hanuman is exceptional in that he alone always enters with the Kakayonan to give the impression of a strong gust of wind as his accompaniment.

Before a performance the dalang recites religious incantations mantra (see Chapter 9). The following one, found in the Darma Pawayangan (Hooykaas, 1973a, 33) and given to me by dalangs, suggests that the figure may be an 'aid' or 'tool', yantra[13] in meditation:

> On waving the Kakayonan believe that:
> Sambu takes the place of Wisnu, Wisnu that of Sangkara,
> Sangkara takes the place of Mahadéwa, Mahadéwa that of Rudra,
> Rudra takes the place of Brahma, Brahma that of Mahèswara,
> Mahèswara takes the place of Iswara, Iswara that of the Kakayonan,
> The Kakayonan takes the place of the Pure All-Powerful Mind,
> The Pure Mind takes the place of the God Poet,
> The (poet's?) skill consists of the faculty of speaking all that can be expressed in words.

This is one of the most important mantra recited before every performance. It can only be understood in the light of Balinese beliefs on the nine-fold division of the cosmos, nawa-sanga (Chapter 5). The god Sambu who starts the movement is located in the north east. When the dalang waves the Kakayonan, it is thought that he causes the gods of the nine-fold division of the cosmos to enter one another in an anti-clockwise motion until they become one with Siwa in the centre or, in this case, the Kakayonan. It is with this figure, the symbol of World Order as expressed by the nawa-sanga, that the dalang identifies himself.[14]

My informants are on the whole little concerned with the symbolism of the Kakayonan. Interest is primarily exhibited in its different transformations during a play. More educated dalangs may explain that its iconography and preliminary dancing signify the pañca-maha-buta, the five great elements, air, wind, fire, water and fire, which are responsible for creation and form the essence of both the macrocosm and microcosm.

Fig. 1 Yudistira

Fig. 2 Bima

Fig. 3 Arjuna

Fig. 4 Nakula or Sahadéwa

Fig 5 Duryodana

Fig. 6 Dursasana

Fig. 7 Kresna

Fig. 8 Wisnumurti

Fig. 9 Karna

Fig. 10 Salya

Fig. 11 Ludramurti

Fig. 12 Drona

Fig. 13 Condong

Fig. 14 Tunggal

Fig. 17 Kakayonan

Fig. 16 Kempana

Fig. 15 Hanuman

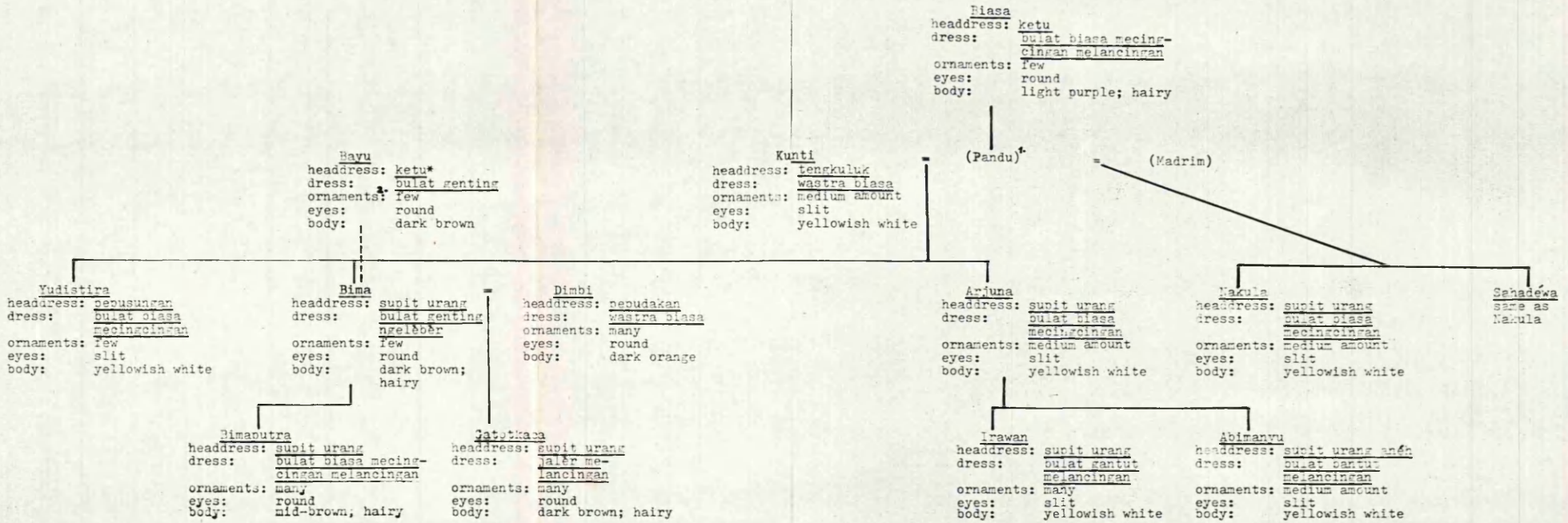
The mountain, to which the figure refers, also implies the sacred direction of upstream and to the mountain, purity and fertility (see Chapter 5).

It can be argued that the form of the Kakayonan suggests mediation. Its two main components link the three zones of underworld, earth and heaven. Figuratively, the mountain rises from the abyss into the sky. So too the roots of the tree descend into the earth while its branches penetrate the heavens. The mountain represents the material world, permanence and stability; the tree, on the other hand, the vegetal world, transience and mutability. The integration of the puppet's simple outline and tree formation with the swirling internal background design further highlights the contrast between the serene and the turbulent. Both extremes are interwoven to express their mutual dependence on one another and a sense of unity. In view of its iconographic elements, it can be argued that the Kakayonan is a mediating figure, combining contrasting poles. With this in mind, it is, moreover, not surprising that it can represent so many different phenomena in the drama.

Kinship

In this section I want briefly to consider to what degree genealogical connections are shown in the features of the Pandawas, Koravas and the descent line of Kresna. As we will see, similarity or disparity between the features may say something significant about role or character. Many features are transmitted down the line of descent. Bima presents a special problem in that his huge, vigorous body separates him from his relatives. This discussion is based in part on Diagram I which lays out the main features of the individuals as represented by the puppets in the Peliatan collection and focuses particularly on headdress, dress, ornaments, eyes and body colour The Peliatan collection is the best

Diagram I. Sheet 1.
Descent and Iconographic Continuity of the Pandawas (Peliatan Collection)



Notes:

1. Brackets indicate that the puppet representing the character does not exist in the collection.
2. Ornaments have been classified into three groups, as follows:

   many: Garuda head, crown, neck ornaments, chest band optional, waist band with or without crow's head, necklace, bangles, armlets, anklets, ear- and finger-rings.
   medium: crown optional, neck ornaments, waist band with or without crow's head, necklace, bangles, armlets, anklets optional, ear- and finger-rings.
   few: waist band with or without crow's head optional, bangles optional, armlets optional, necklace optional, finger-rings optional, ear-rings.

* For the full translation of Balinese terms, see charts in Chapter 5.

Fig. 18 Tualèn

Fig. 19 Merdah

Fig. 20 Dèlem

Fig. 21 Sangut

Fig. 22 Baru / Peliatan
Collecti

Fig. 23 Rana / I Badra's
Collectior

Diagram I. Sheet 2.
Descent and Iconographic Continuity of the Korawas
(Peliatan Collection)

(Dastarastā)

Duryodana
headdress: pepudakan
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan
ornaments: many; gelat bau
eyes: round
body: mid-orange; hairy

Lesmana Kumara
headdress: supit urang anēn
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan
ornaments: medium amount
eyes: round
body: light brown

Dursasana
headdress: udeng-udengan
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan
ornaments: medium amount
eyes: round
body: mid-orange; hairy

Durning
neaddress: none
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan
ornaments: medium amount
eyes: round
body: light brown; hairy

Serutaséna
headdress: udeng-udengan
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan
ornaments: medium amount
eyes: round
body: dark brown

Jayawikata
headdress: udeng-udengan
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan
ornaments: medium amount
eyes: round
body: dark red; hairy

Yuyutsu
headdress: supit urang
dress: pulat biasa mecingcingan
ornaments: many
eyes: slit
body: yellowish white

Diagram I. Sheet 3.
Descent and Iconographic Continuity of Kresna's line (Peliatan Collection)

Brahma
headdress: candi utama
dress: jalèr melancingan
ornaments: many; kelat bau
eyes: round
body: dark red; hairy

Basudewa
headdress: candi Kurung
dress: jalèr melancingan
ornaments: many
eyes: slit
body: yellowish white

Baladewa
headdress: candi utama
dress: jalèr melancingan
ornaments: many; kelat bau
eyes: slit
body: light brown

Gada
headdress: supit urang
dress: bulat gantut melancingan
ornaments: many
eyes: round
body: mid orange; hairy

Kresna
headdress: candi utama
dress: bulat biasa mecingcingan
ornaments: many; kelat bau
eyes: slit
body: light green

Samba
headdress: supit urang
dress: bulat biasa mecingcingan
ornaments: many
eyes: slit
body: yellowish white

and most complete collection (see Chapter 4) - it alone has five Korawa brothers - and so the one to which I shall refer.

In turning to the Pandawas (Diagram I.1), it is evident that the three elder brothers differ greatly from one another. Yudistira stands out by his headdress and simple ornaments indicative of his leaning to the brahmanical way of life, Bima is gigantic and powerfully built, and Arjuna is the epitome of grace and elegance expressed mainly through nuances - his upright bearing and the flowing lines of his apparel (see earlier discussion of them). While the twins Nakula and Sahadéwa have similar parts to Arjuna, they are shorter and their forms stiffer. Nonetheless, with the exception of Bima, the siblings are united in having refined, alus, features, slit eyes and yellowish white body colour.

In his refinement Karna resembles his half-brothers, apart from Bima. Only his ostentation shows his attachment to an affluent kingdom. His candi kurung is undoubtly linked to his high status as son of Surya, eldest Pandawa brother and king of Awangga. It is found otherwise only on Siwa and Basudéwa.

Arjuna's sons, Irawan and Abimanyu, are refined like their father. It should, though, be noted that they have more in common with each other and other satriya of their generation. Short dresses or one which leave one leg exposed, shortness of stature, long hair, as worn by Abimanyu, usually imply juniority and youth.

Bima requires special comment as his form is so extraordinary. Bima's genealogical background is more clearly marked than that of the other satriya. Most collections possess his genitor Bayu, the god of wind. His descent from the god is made explicit in apparel and body form: their dress style, skin colour, facial features and stance are identical and both have the long thumb nail, waspenek. In order to

understand Bima, it is helpful also to look at his sons of whom at least two are represented. Their relationship to their father is apparent in their coarse features and dark skin colour. Of the sons, Gatotkaca is Bima's most important son and highly distinctive. He is large and wears trousers with a dress tail hanging between the legs. This dress is only found on senior characters such as Basudéwa, Baladéwa and Brahma.

In passing, it is of interest that I Badra, in discussing Bima, emphasizes his relationship to his ogre mother, Dimbi, which he sees expressed in their iconography. His collection does not have the standard Dimbi; instead he uses the ogre called Sukasarana elsewhere to portray her (Table 2, Chapter 2). Sukasarana wears trousers with a long dress tail and is dark brown like Gatotkaca, in contra-distinction to Bima in Badra's collection who is grey. To I Badra, the similarity in mother's and son's dress and colour indicates proximity in status, character and mystic qualities. Gatotkaca is known from the literature to have inherited supernatural powers from Dimbi which enables him to fly (see Zoetmulder, 1974,264). Recognition of Gatotkaca's ogre nature is granted by all dalangs interviewed. It emerges primarily when he is a child. Then Boma, who has the typical ogreish sign of small tusks, is used to represent him. Apart from Gatotkaca, visual evidence on the whole suggests that ancestry traced through women is ignored. With the exception of Kunti, most satriya female figures are interchangeable. This makes sense in Balinese society where descent is traced through the patriline, although lesser attributes may be inherited from the mother.

Stutterheim's work (1956) may throw some light on Bima's unusual form. He draws attention to the similarity between the puppet Bima from the shadow play and his image on reliefs and statues from

such sites as Sukuh and Ceta on Mount Lawu in east Java, or Pèjèng in Bali. At these sites Bima's demonic looks and phallic character comes to the fore[15]. Stutterheim argues that his appearance is probably connected with the existence of a Bima cult during the late Majapahit and so-called Middle-Balinese period, in the 15th century. This cult is said to have developed as a result of tantric sects, in particular that of Bairawa[16], in which the worship of Bima figures "must have been related to the attainment of salvation, either during natural life or after death" (Stutterheim, 1956, 119). His role as saviour figure, moreover, is not one which emerges from the Mahabrata. Although he is an impetuous figure in the epic, he is only distinguished from the other Pandawa brothers by his physical strength (Stutterheim, 1956, 120).

More can perhaps be said about the present day puppet of Bima from a purely visual point of view. Although he is a Pandawa, this is only shown in his crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang. He has a round eye and a big nose. The first feature is distinctive of both the Korawas and the ogres; the second mainly of the Korawas. His powerful body too shows affinity with ogres, while his size places him among the tallest of them. In view of this it is fitting that he marries an ogre. One can perhaps tentatively conclude that Bima, who falls between categories, having elements from the Pandawas, Korawas, gods and ogres, has characteristics of a mediator. So it is perhaps unsurprising that he is the hero of the Dewaruci - the prince who has the closest relationship with the supreme god Tunggal and who obtains the holy water, tirta kemandalu after searching through geographical extracts (see the earlier discussion of Bima).

The descent line of the Korawas (Diagram I:2) is much simpler than that of the Pandawas. Duryodana's ornaments, headdress and (to a lesser degree) dress signify his rank as king of Astina. They also separate him from his siblings, although his hairiness and coarse facial features link him to them again. The younger brothers strongly resemble one another. Despite this, Dursasana is easily recognisable by the upward tilt of his face and ungainly body.

A word should be said here about Yuyutsu, the Korawa's half brother. He is distinct from them and almost indistinguishable, apart from nuances and additional ornaments, from Arjuna and the twins. His form unambiguously shows his allegiance not to the Korawas but to the Pandawa side. Only the abundance of his jewellery and the Garuda head suggest he comes from a powerful, wealthy kingdom which in his case is Astina.

Lesmana Kumara, Duryodana's son, has crude features like his father and other Korawas. His articles of wear though are similar to those of other youths. It is interesting that he wears the supit urang anéh, the one peaked headdress, and has long hair like Abimanyu. Both sons are heirs to the throne, a fact which their headdresses may imply besides pointing to their parallel statuses.

In looking at Baladéwa and Kresna (Diagram I:3) their descent from Basudéwa can be detected in their common refined physical features, the 'backwing' kelat bau, and ornateness of their outfit. This, however, is not conclusive as these are found on a few other senior satriya; Baladéwa has more affinity with his father as he too wears trousers. Apart from their status proximity, seen in their candi utama

headdress, the brothers are very different from one another. They are both refined, but Kresna is more delicately structured, a fact which his elegant dress displays to full advantage. The marked difference between the brothers is probably related to the gods they incarnate. Baladéwa's and Kresna's sons, Gada and Samba, have no notable resemblance to their respective fathers. Their features are depicted on many satriya.

The iconography shows that role and character are often related to descent. All the Korawa brothers, for example, have coarse features a reddish note in their skin colour and are hairy. Duryodana is separated from his siblings only by his articles of wear, indicative of his high status as the ruling monarch. The Pandawa brothers, apart from Bima, are refined and yellowish white; yet they are all united by their supit urang headdress. While sons take physically after their fathers, their apparel often implies juniority. Religious considerations seem at times also to determine how the features are interpreted. So, Baladéwa and Kresna differ greatly in their dress and colour, probably in conjunction with the gods of whom they are incarnations.

Bima's unusual appearance may, as Stutterheim argued, be linked to the fact that tantric sects worshipped him as a saviour figure at the end of the Majapahit period. The visual date at least suggested that he is a mediator who appropriately has a special role in such myths as Déwaruci. So Bima stands out from his family and all other satriya.

Conclusion

It is evident that three main principles underlie the iconography of the figures: social group or caste, disposition and genealogy. In

a few instances, such as Bima or the Kakayonan a fourth principlal, which one might loosely term philosophical, may help to explain their components.

What emerges clearly from the discussion is the complexity and individuality of the figures. While their forms are standardized and they appear on preliminary examination to be subordinated to types, such as refined and coarse, there are shades of variation. So, it is by nuances that Arjuna is distinguished from the twins or other satriya who have identical parts otherwise.

The oral tradition tends to elaborate on the idiosyncracies of a given character which are linked to this appearance. This is pronounced in the case of Duryodana, Dursasana, Drona or Salya. The villagers seem to invest them with all the qualities they most abhor. Drona highlights the degree to which the Balinese may be influenced in their description by their conception of a person's character. Some dalangs say his light blue skin colour illustrates his crafty, underhand character; on Kresna though this colour signifies to the people his relationship to Wisnu. While many of the features express standardized values (Chapter 5 and 8), a few individual ones are open to interpretation and are made to fit the particular figure.

Finally a word should be said about the important polar opposition in Bali of alus and kasar. Alus is perhaps best translated as refinement and sweetness achieved through, or reflected in, self-control and inner balance; kasar, in contrast, is coarseness and loudness expressed in uncontrolled feelings and energy. These values have been frequently mentioned during the course of this chapter and will occur again in the following ones. Refinement and coarseness are, in part, associated with social group and descent, but individual traits may further determine the

degree to which they are demonstrated. Most characters stand somewhere between these polar extremes.

Notes

1. Often people in important administrative or religious positions, as for example, the village headman, bendesa, or the indigenous medical practitioner, balian, were said to possess wang in my area.

2. There are a few other wang, like wang kuda (horse), wang bulan (moon), or wang buta (demon), but as they do not refer to specific characters in wayang they are not included here.

3. Unfortunately, I did not obtain the significance of coming up from the rear, and I would have to look into the meaning of this when I am back in Bali.

4. Kasemeran means love with the implication of a strong sexual attraction.

5. It is interesting that this is also Yudistira's main vice. In the epic he gambles away the kingdom of Astina to Duryodana. The Balinese do not, however, refer to this as a childish deed. It is a tragic event, preordained by the gods.

6. Later, in such poems as Sudamala (Zoetmulder, 1974, 434), the twins seem to become more important.

7. My informants give a somewhat different meaning of rengas to that in the dictionaries of van Eck (1876) and van der Tuuk (1897). They may say of an angry man that he looks like an enraged cow whose tongue lolls out and whose eye glow; such a man is referred to as rengas. The term is also used to describe someone who is taken with himself and intimidates others.

8. Mesèkang is not in the dictionaries of van Eck and van der Tuuk. In my area it is mainly used in the context of asking a friend to beat up or kill someone else.

9. Hooykaas (1971, 4) confirmed that the weapons of Wisnumurti are identified with those of the nawa-sanga. In fact only the discus, club, incense bowl, lotus, serpent-arrow and trident are weapons of the nawa-sanga (on the weapons, see Pott, 1966, 134).

10. The Swargarohanaparwa has not yet been translated (Uhlenbeck, 1964, 126). I Ewer has though proved very accurate in his translations

11. Tibangbug is the name of a small bug which has a dark blue coat which shines at nigh.

12. Tékung is a beetle which has two folds at the back.

13. For the definition of yantra, see Pott, (1966, 28).

14. Tentatively it can be suggested that the Kakayonan acts as the receptacle for the Istadewata (Pott, 1966, 28), the special divinity of the adept, who in the case of the dalang is the god Iswara (Chapter 1) who resides in the heart. In the microcosm the Kakayonan, moreover, represents the heart (Hooykaas, 1973a, 21 & 23).

15. Stutterheim (1956, 118-9) pointed out that formerly Bima's nakedness was still more apparent than nowadays. In the reliefs of Sukuh he is portrayed without trousers.

16. The Bairava sect believed that by a ritual performance of that which was forbidden to the ordinary person or in which he was restricted, soul and body could be separated, and the former absorbed into the deity. Ritual orgies in the five forbidden things, meat, fish, alcohol, intercourse and mystic gestures (or grain), served as rites of deliverance (see note 32, Stutterheim, 1956, 119-20).

Chapter 7. The Servants

In this chapter I want to examine the servants in the shadow play. In studying them we are faced with the problem that, unlike most of the other characters, they are not found in the epic literature. Four of them, Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut are, however, the main figures in any performance. They are called parekan, servants, or pandasar, the base or basic ones. The second designation is especially fitting as the Balinese say they are the basis of society: without them the kingdom cannot exist (see Chapter 3). Tualèn and Merdah serve the Pandawas, or otherwise the more virtuous camp; Dèlem and Sangut support the Korawas, or the less virtuous camp.

Apart from these four servants, there are three others in south central Bali.[1] Rana is an ugly old peasant woman; Baru a crippled servant; and the Condong is the lady-in-waiting. The first two have very minor roles and are not gone into at length. As the Condong is visually so different from the other servants - in appearance more like the high castes (in fact she is generally referred to as a wèsya) - she was described in the previous chapter and is only mentioned here in passing.

The first known Javanese literary work which includes servant-like figures is the poem, Gatotkacasraya by mpu Panuluh, which was probably composed in the late 12th century in east Java (Pigeaud, 1967, 184-5). Since that time they are hardly absent from any Javanese narrative. It is often assumed that they were taken over from indigenous folk tales. Their role in Javanese literature seems, however, to have become particularly important since the efflorescense of theatre in the 18th and 19th century (Pigeaud, 1967, 185).

The first visual evidence of servant figures who bear a distinct resem-

blance to the Balinese puppets are on reliefs of the sepulchral monument, Candi Jago, which was built for the east Javanese king Vishnuvardhana in about the year 1343.[2] Here they are seen lolling on the ground beneath a pavilion in which the Pandawa brother, Arjuna, is sleeping. The Javanese servants who are the counterparts of those in Bali differ from the figures on the reliefs. It is possible that the Islamic proscription of image-making during the last three centuries influenced their present extreme stylization (Chapter 1).

The written sources are inadequate for understanding the Balinese servants. The texts known in Java and Bali throw little light on their iconography or role in the shadow play. The most reliable immediate source of information is the Balinese themselves, particularly dalangs who are intimately involved with them as characters on the stage. Their role as servants is, further, one the villagers know well and with which they empathize. Although since colonization in the first decade of this century and the Land Reform Laws introduced in 1960 the power and wealth of the satriya has gradually diminished, they still keep retainers at the courts. Some of the dalangs who were my informants were also attached to local princes.

The four servants are unusual in that they have multiple roles on the stage. By way of an introduction, these are briefly examined here. It will become apparent that they act out models of kin relations, serve as social commentators, jokers and tricksters, and even critics, instructors and intermediaries. In this last role Tualèn has a special function as he mediates between the spiritual and material world.

Tualen and Merdah are father and son. Dèlem and Sangut are brothers. They represent the core relations of the Balinese kinship system based on

descent through males. The tensions acted out on the stage between members of each pair are deliberately made reminiscent of actual life. Tualèn is old and often acts in a muddled fashion, preferring to go his own way and not to lean on his more capable son Merdah. In contrast, the relationship between Dèlem and Sangut tends to be uneasy because of their contradictory characters. Dèlem is stupid and greedy; Sangut clever and philosophical. In Bali, although brothers are expected to live and work together, they have little in common. The inheritance system singles out one heir, who is usually the youngest brother, and the remaining brothers are inferior. It is interesting that in the shadow play the more appealing brother is the younger, Sangut. [3]

The four servants are clowns and tricksters. They embellish and give comic relief to the otherwise serious mood of the main plots evolving around the satriya. Their dialogues are spiced with humour and wit and they involve themselves in slapstick and horseplay when they may assault or upbraid one another bawdily. In scenes of romance they tease and make advances to the opposite sex. Here the Condong, or lady-in-waiting, has an active part. As she is attractive and her caste unspecified, or at the most wèsya, the servants feel free to woo her with songs and romantic allusions. They would never behave in such a forward manner with the princesses.

Many of the episodes acted by the servants are set in the village and dialogues reflect local issues. These often have an instructive element. For example, they may discuss a husband's proper treatment of his wife (or wives) in order to maintain harmony in the home, or they may accuse a villager of practising witchcraft (see Covarrubias, 1965, 321-2, for a description of an occasion when a dalang, through the medium of the

servants, accused a Balinese satriya lady of Jerokuta of practising witchcraft). Such freedom is allowed only on the stage; in life the Balinese avoid accusing someone directly of being a witch.

They comment not only on local matters, but also on the plans and behaviour of their satriya masters. They may critisize them when they act in an unseemly or unvirtuous way. Closely linked to this is their role as teachers. All the stories have didactic overtones. The servants frequently discuss the ethics of their masters' intentions and actions. It is here that they expound such philosophical concepts as ritual impurity, kesucian, duty, darma, (see Chapter 8), or the law of cause and effect, karmapala.

One of their most important functions is as translators. In the play the epic characters all speak Old Javanese. In its structures and essentials this is an Indonesian language, yet it contains a large number of Sanskrit words. (Zoetmulder, 1974, 7). Although dalangs may vary in their fluency, few of the audience understand this archaic speech which has little affinity with the Balinese language spoken by the villagers and by the servants in the theatre.

In this role the servants mediate between the high castes and spectators. Through their translations access is gained to the values of the royal courts and this largely idealized behaviour is expressed to a predominantly low caste audience. Further, they mediate between the mythological world of cosmic events where the heroes are god-kings (see Chapter 8) and the realistic time-bound world of the village which they themselves represent.

Tualèn has a special role. He is generally thought to be related to the supreme god (see myths below). During the performance Tunggal is

said to descend into his body, Sang Hyang Tunggal dadi nyusup di awak I Malèn, so that he represents god incarnate and mediates between the divine and the human world. Tualèn's close relationship with the gods is especially evident in Sudamala, a special purificatory ceremony given after a performance (see Chapter 9). During Sudamala the gods representing the most powerful gods and goddesses are set up against the screen and special offerings are made. Tualèn on this occasion generally represents Wisnu, the preserver.

The various popular myths on the origin of Tualèn and his son Merdah highlight their divine or supernatural status. The parentage of Dèlem and Sangut is unknown. The villagers simply say they are hereditary servants, parekan wudun, of the Korawas. Three of the myths on Tualèn's and Merdah's origin are given here. They explain, in part why the people hold them in such esteem.

1. The god Sang Hyang Sepi (Supreme Quiet) had two sons. The elder was called Ismaya and the younger Manik Maya.[4] These two gods meditated, and from their concentration the other gods were created. The gods decided that mankind needed protection. So it came about that the five Pandawa brothers, the Pañca Pandawa, were born, all the decendants of the gods. Sang Hyang Sepi then pointed out that the Pandawas had no-one to guide and take care of them. He told Manik Maya to remain in heaven, while Ismaya was to take on the form of Tualèn and descend to earth. Tualèn first meditated and created his son Merdah. Together they went to the court of the Pandawas and became their servants.

   After some time had elapsed, the Pandawas were attacked and a fierce ogre called Ari-ari (umbilical cord) killed the brothers. Tualèn and Merdah, in fury at the gods for having let the Pandawas die, ascended to heaven. The gods were displeased to see two mortals enter their realm, and fighting broke out in which the servants defeated the gods. Sang Hyang Sepi then intervened and told the gods that Tualèn and Merdah were not two ordinary mortals; Tualèn was in fact Ismaya. Sang Hyang Sepi further pointed out that the ogre had been sent deliberately. He represented the umbilical cord, ari-ari, of the Pandawa brothers. No proper rites had been made for him at their birth. He was, however, one of their four mystic brothers, kanda empat[5] (see Weck, 1937, 52-62; Hooykaas, 1974, 3-4) who had to be taken care of. Only then would he protect the Pandawas, otherwise he would bring them harm.

   (told by I Badra)

2. Dirt had congealed on Sang Hyang Tunggal's skin. The god meditated and the dirt took on the form of Tualen. Tunggal told Tualen that he wanted him to be the servant of men who acted virtuously. So Tualen became the servant of the Pandawa brothers who follow the path of duty or morality.

(told by I Wayan Raos)

3. Bima wished to make a cave. He dug energetically until he came upon a black and then a red stone which he could not dislodge. In anger he shouted to the obstinate stones that as they were as tough and unyielding as he, he would treat them like members of the family and give them the status of brothers. Hearing Bima's words, the stones took on human shape. The black stone became Tualen and the red Merdah.

(told by I Ewer)

The existence of the servants raises a variety of issues, which will be the subject of this chapter. First, I would like to consider how far the servants can be compared to the other characters. Second, there is no reference to them in the epics, but they are nonetheless widely celebrated in folk beliefs. So it is useful to look at some of those which are relevant. Third, it is interesting to see how the servants differ from one another, which features are common and what this might signify. Finally, I would like to look briefly at the place of the servants in Balinese culture and comment on their nature.

In the charts at the end of the chapter, the features of the servants are laid out, as they are distinguished by my informants. As in Chapter 5 the servants are examined with the help of the exegetical meanings attributed to them and the contexts in which they are found. As we are here dealing with the servants, the terms are in ordinary Balinese. Already a survey of the charts shows that many of their parts bear little correspondance to those discussed earlier. This is especially true of their physical features. It is also evident that they wear simple clothes

and jewellery.

Each of the six servants is described in this chapter. Although they are highly idiosyncratic, my informants had no difficulty in describing them lucidly and in detail. It should be noted the degree to which the Balinese stress both their uniqueness - in particular for the four main ones - and the connection between character and form. This contrasts to the more stereotyped satriya. For example, the slit eyes of many high castes primarily denotes refinement. On the other hand, the eyes depicted on Tualèn and Sangut have distinctive shapes which are particularly rich in meaning. Additional beliefs on the servants highlight the significance they may have more generally in the culture. Wang (see Chapter 6) and proverbs may also be also here be an important source of information.

As a brief aside, I want then to consider the frequency with which particular features are distributed among the servants as a whole. This is of special interest as these figures do not exist in the epic literature, and they differ markedly in their forms not only from the other characters, but from each other as well. As we will see the frequency with which they possess distinctive attributes or parts shows that they are progressively subdivided into classes which are closely related to the folk view of them and their roles on the stage.

In the final sections I want to turn to the problem of the nature of the servants and their place in Balinese culture. This leads to a more analytical approach in which the servants are discussed in the light of the tradition of the clowns, tricksters, jesters and fools found so widely in other parts of the world.

Tualèn (Fig. 18)

Height: 37cm. (Peliatan collection)
Body colour: greyish brown, ulangkrik (all collections examined)

Tualèn has a large head. His forehead juts out over a small, flat nose. He has thick lips and when he opens his mouth one upper tooth is visible. His eyes which are generally described as guling (or in a few cases as pijak or sumpé, see charts in the chapter) is said to be inward-looking, and reflects a character who is inclined to ascetism, brata, and meditation, yoga. This eye is fitting because Tualèn requests the gods to favour him, nunas ica ring ida batara (A), so that he can protect the descendants of the kings and ensure the prosperity of the state. It is also the eye of one who desires to deliver others from the cycle of transmigration, samsara. His moustache is badly grown as it has a gap in the middle and his cheeks are wrinkled. Attention is drawn to his thick jaw which is said to give him an expression of stupidity, ngenah amoh.

Tualèn is fat, mokoh, and shapeless, begbeg. He has breasts and a large paunch on which the navel is depicted. His arms too are shapeless and each hand is in a different geture. He has short dwarf-like legs.

His clothes are simple. He wears a headgear with a crest, udeng mejambul, and a very short black and white checkered loin-cloth, kamben genting. His only jewellery is plain bangles and an hibiscus flower tucked behind the big ear which is pierced like that of a woman.

Tualen's body colour is ulangkrik which is made up of all the basic colours. He alone in a collection has this colour. The Balinese say it relates him to Siwa who is the central god of the five-fold (pañca dewa) and the nine-fold (nawa-sanga) divisions of the cosmos (see Chapter 5). Each god in these cosmic systems is represented by a colour. In the same way that all the gods merge into Siwa, who constitutes a higher unity and is multi-coloured, all the colours on the craftsman's palette are mixed to produce ulangkrik. At the same time the greyish brown appearance of ulangkrik - which is so dark that it sometimes seems black - links him to

Wisnu, whose colour is black.

Folk beliefs associated with Tualèn (sometimes known alternatively as Malèn)

Tualèn has a special place in the shadow play. As his name already implies to the people, he is old, tua (B), and different, lèn (B), from other characters. He is the only figure into whom the supreme god Tunggal descends on occasions, for instance during the Sudamala ceremony. Because of the great supernatural power attributed to him villagers rarely, if ever, compare him to others.

Wang Malèn exists. If found, it is thought to grant its owner great supernatural power and immortality (said to be an attribute of Wisnu with whom Tualèn is associated; see the body colour above). Indigneous medical practitioners, balian, who among other things deal with witchcraft, are especially eager to obtain such a coin for it endows them with power which they can use to combat witches (on witchcraft, see Chapter 8).

Merdah (Fig. 19)

Height: 29cm.
Body colour: dark red, barak wayah (Peliatan collection)
dark brown, soklat wayah (Badra's collection)
light orange, kudrang nguda (Ewer's collection)

Merdah differs little in looks from his father. He is only smaller and fatter. So only those features are described which express his individuality to the Balinese.

His face is particularly distinctive. His elongated eye is generally referred to a sumpé akidik, slightly slit, (sometimes also as pijak) and so modifies the qualities accosicated with this shape. He has some refined feelings and understanding of duty, but at the same time he has coarse traits. His eye, together with the large bulbous nose and upward tilt of

his head, gives him a proud, bold, intelligent expression, peliatné cinging. Such a person is a quick thinker and lucid talker. He is also intuitive.

Merdah's body colour tends to emphasize the qualities mentioned above. He is associated with the god Mahadéwa, but this is not always evident from his colour. Merdah is light orange in only one of the collections examined and this possibly suggests a visual link with Mahadéwa whose colour is yellow.

Folk beliefs associated with Merdah

Merdah is considered supernaturally powerful, but less so than his father. He is shrewd and clever in all wordly matters, duweg indik napi kewantèn ring guminé, in contrast to his father who is often stupid and slow-witted despite his great spiritual development.

Dèlem (Fig. 20)

Height:
Body colour: dark red, barak wayah (Peliatan collection)
dark brown, soklat wayah (other collections)

Dèlem's head is large and round. He has a small, flat nose and his eyes are unusually big and bulbous, generally described as nilah (sometimes also as dedelingan). They show that he is a man who is very coarse and angers easily. He gazes disdainfully, bangga, upwards. His moustache is badly grown. It is broad and there are gaps between the hairs, cerun-cung, langah. A distinctive feature of the head is that it is cut out of a separate piece of hide from the rest of the body and so jerks when Dèlem moves. This is said to be a sign of pride, and at the same time stresses his clumsiness, ipuné ten meguru.

Special attention is further drawn to his unusual neck which is stumpy

and swells out to either side. In the front the swelling is gondong, goitre (v. d. T.), which in Bali is held to be to a state classified as mala, that is ritual and spiritual impurity.[6] The villagers explain that such a defect indicates a flaw in the character, described as pikayune kaon, pepinehné lèngkong,[7] having wrong and 'crooked' thoughts.

Dèlem is fat and shapeless, berentek; (said also of a bush). He has a portly belly and his bottom sticks out. His arms are thick and each hand shows a different gesture. He has the shortest legs of all the servants.

Because of his pleasure in material things his clothing and jewellery are ornate by the standards of the villagers. His hair (made of cow's hair) is pulled together into a plume which sticks out through the top of his headgear, udeng mejambul bokné. He is clad in an ordinary dress style, kamben mebulat biasa. An hibiscus flower is tucked behind his ear, from which a large, round ear-ring dulalir, dangles proudly. The hilt of a keris projects out from the back of the dress.

Altogether Dèlem's appearance suggests a person who is easily taken in by flattery, belog ajum, and conceited, bangga bonggan. His body colour, which is generally dark red, reiterates the same qualities, but also links him to Brahma, the god of fire, who is red.

Folk beliefs associated with Dèlem

Dèlem is without a doubt the servant whom the Balinese most dislike, although like all of them he is attributed with supernatural power. Apart from the qualities expressed directly by his appearance, he is described as a person who likes to shame his friends, ipun demen nyacad timpal, and tries to influence others, including women, by his wealth (it is wryly added what else would he possess in order to appeal to them).

Under certain circumstances, the proverb degag Delem, as proud and arrogant as Delem, may be used about a villager who acts conceitedly, telling others how to do things he himself cannot do.

Sangut (Fig. 21)

Height: 32cm.
Body colour: light orange, kudrang nguda (Peliatan collection)
mid brown, soklat biasa (Badra's collection)
yellowish white, putih susu (Ewer's collection)

Sangut has an unusually long face because his narrow mouth with its thick lips protudes markedly forwards. While my informants refer to Sangut's eye as sumpé (or pijak), they point out that he also squints, jèrèng. This is said to give him a somnolent, languid look, liatné ngelèdru, typifying a person who is shrewd, but hides his feelings. It also emphasizes his covert manner of glancing out of the side of the eye because he is unable to stay on a fixed course, sing eneh eneh. Apart from his badly grown moustache, which has a gap in the middle, he has a small beard.

Special meaning is attached to his long neck with its adam's apple, batun salak. It is said to indicate an inventive, shrewd and resourceful character, daya mekilit, who thinks ahead and contemplates the consequences of his actions, peminehné lantang buin adèng-adèng.

These qualities are again brought to the fore by the shape of his body. Despite his paunch he is thin because he is continually thinking and so is unable to become fat like the other servants. His arms too are thin. On one hand, he is said to have six fingers, which is a sign of mala (ritual and spiritual impurity). He has dwarf-like legs.

His clothes are simple. His hair is pulled together into a thin tail which sticks out through the top of his headgear, udeng mejambul bokné. His loin-cloth is very short, kamben mebulat genting. His only jewellery

is plain bangles and long dangling ear-rings, dulalir, an hibiscus flower is tucked behind his ear. He also has a keris.

Sangut is associated with Iswara who is white. Only the whitish body colour of Sangut in Ewer's collection indicates this link.

Folk beliefs associated with Sangut

Sangut never commits himself to supporting fully either the Pandawa or Korawa camp. The Balinese sympathize with his dilemma. For on the one hand he is committed to the Korawas who are his masters and on the other he is drawn to the Pandawas who he knows are more virtuous. Dèlem also complicates the problem. Although Sangut disapproves of him, Dèlem is his elder brother and is firmly on the side of the Korawas.

Dèlem and Sangut are the servants to whom the Balinese most often compare other villagers. The following proverbs are widely used in my area: ngelanggung nyangut (from Sangut), a rice implement which is sharp at both ends; and sekadi jèlma Sangut, a man like Sangut. The first proverb is used to describe a person who follows both sides of an argument. The second is said of a man who refuses to commit himself, but tends to follow the winning side.

Wang Sangut exists. Men in administative or political positions, such as the headman, klian, religious village head, bendésa, or orators at village meetings, juru raos (see Chapter 8), are especially eager to find such a coin. A man who possesses it is believed to be shrewd and clever. He has also the ability to understand others and to soothe them if they become agitated. He instills compassion and people are easily swayed by his words.

Baru (Fig. 22)

Height: 39,5cm. (Peliatan collection)

Colour: light purple, tangi nguda (Peliatan collection)
light brown, soklat nguda (Badra's collection)

Baru's head is small, his cheeks are sunken in, and he has a flat nose. He has round eyes and the mouth protudes forwards. The lump at the front of the neck is goitre.

His body outline is distinctive. It is serpentine, cengked (said also of a windy road). His belly sticks out, as does his behind, and he has a hump on his back. The bent right leg shows he is crippled, pèrot.

His clothes are simple. Only his headgear is unusual and it resembles a coiled turban, udeng meperucut. He wears a very short loin-cloth, kamben bulat genting, in black and white checkered design. Two ornament chains hang between the legs. As he is a peasant, a special grass cutting knife, arit, is stuck into the back of the dress.

Folk beliefs associated with Baru

He has a very small role in the performance and my informants did not dwell on his appearance. Some attention is paid to his physical defects, the goitre and crippled leg, as they are further indications of ritual, and spiritual impurity, but otherwise little stands out about his looks.

Rana (Fig. 23)

Height: 35.5cm. (Badra's collection)
Colour: light purple, tangi nguda (Badra's collection)

Rana has a large head. Her forehead bulges out over a broad, snub nose. She is old, and so only two bottom teeth are visible. Her cheeks are sunken and wrinkled. Her eye, while slit, sumpé, appears squashed in, digoké (said also of an animal, for example of a snake which moves just under the surface of the earth). She wears her hair in a loose-set bun, with untidy curls left on top, bok ipuné mejèmpongan.

She is shapeless and fat. Her large breasts droop heavily like gourds,

nyonyoné baligo, lambih. Her arms too are shapeless and both her hands are held open. She wears an ordinary style dress, kamben biasa, which has slipped down under her big belly and her behind sticks out. Her only adornment is an hibiscus flower tucked behind the ear.

Rana is an ugly, bocok, old woman who is stiff and clumsy, kebot.

Folk beliefs associated with Rana

Rana is not a very important servant and not found in all collections. As she is old and ugly, she is never even given a passing glance by the male servants on the stage, who lavish their attention primarily on the supple, attractive lady-in-waiting, the Condong.

An analysis of the classificatory system

The servants differ so markedly from the standardized high caste figures and from each other that it is interesting to examine for a moment how many features they share.

A large range of features are portrayed on the six servants (see Appendix 5, matrix of servants). It is clear that these are not distributed randomly. On the one hand, some are always found together; on the other and more importantly, if the servants are grouped by their degree of similarity, structured classes emerge. As the proportion of identical features increase, the servants are progressively sub-divided in a significant way (Table I). These divisions correspond remarkably to the Balinese views on them and their roles in the performance.

Initially they stand out as a group, as overall stylistic similarities unite them. Their depiction is simple and emphasis is laid on their distorted bodies. They also all stand in complete profile, in contrast to the other characters in the shadow play, and they are dynamic figures who

Table 1. Classification of Servants by Similarity of Form

All sudra servants	All male servants	Four main servants	Pairs: T+M/D+S	Individual males	Name
1. full profile 2. jutting out forehead 3. one eye 4. cecantelan* 5. flat teeth 6. two moveable arms	7. one upper tooth	8. large ears 9. large paunch 10. sticking out behind 11. short legs 12. stumpy toes 13. standing with feet together 14. hibiscus flower behind ear 15. thick lips 16. hairy skin	17. slit in ears 18. stumpy neck 19. big breasts 20. udeng mejambul* 21. bulat genting* 22. simple bangles, 23. thin moustache, ceruncung* 24. black & white checkered design on dress	- eye - big jaw - greyish brown, ulangkrik	Tualèn
				- eye - bulbous nose - dark red, barak wayah	Merdah
			17. beard 18. udeng mejambul bok* 19. ear-rings, dulalir* 20. keris	- broad moustache - goitre - round dulalir* - bulat biasa* - dark brown, soklat wayah	Dèlem
				- eye - long neck with Adam's apple - squashed nose - six fingers on one hand - long dulalir* - light orange, kudrang nguda	Sangut
					Baru & Rana

Notes:

1. This table shows the relationship between the distribution of features and sub-divisions of the servants. An increase in the number of features in common indicates membership of a smaller class.

2. All the servants referred to here are from the Peliatan collection with the exception of Rana who is not found there and is taken from Badra's collection.

3. T. = Tualèn; M. = Merdah; D. = Dèlem S. = Sangut

* For the full translation of these terms, see the charts in the chapter.

can move not only their arms, but also their jaws.

In a survey of how many features the servants have in common, Rana may be split off first from the other servants, followed then by Baru (Tab. I.Col.1.&2.). Baru mainly shows his separation from the male servants in his physiognomy. He is thin, scrawny and crippled. Rana is possibly modelled on the four main servants for she too is fat and gross, but she shares few parts with them. To the Balinese, neither the looks of Baru nor Rana suggest much individuality and it is perhaps unsurprising that they have such minor parts. Rana, to the best of my knowledge, is only found in the collections of some humble dalangs in isolated areas.

A definite identity is immediately apparent in the forms of the main servants (Tab.I.Col.3.). They share sixteen common parts. They are all stout with pot-bellies, fat behinds and hairy chests. They are also distinguished by their short, dwarf-like legs and the stumpy toes of their big, bare feet. Any opposition which is expressed between the pairs has to be seen in the light of this strong group identity. The same applies to the idiosyncracy conveyed by their appearance.

In addition to the features which unite the four servants, further ones link the pairs (Tab.I.Col.4.). It is striking that Tualèn and Merdah resemble each other much more than Dèlem and Sangut. This may well correspond to the cultural perception of social relationships. The link between father and son is closer than that between brothers . As I remarked earlier, tension often exists between brothers which may be linked in no small part to the Balinese inheritance rules in sudra families.

Of the features, there are some which are exclusive to each pair, and so separate Tualèn and Merdah from Dèlem and Sangut. So it is in the presence or absence of pierced ears, breasts, special ear-rings, <u>dulalir</u>,

keris, the black and white checkered poleng design on the dress and the different headgear that an opposition may be detected between the pair.

Intimately connected to this dichotomy are the few parts which are invariably found to be linked (see the charts in the chapter). The headgear, udeng mejambul, is always portrayed with pierced ears and breasts, while the headgear with hair sticking out at top, udeng mejambul bok, ear-rings, dulalir, and keris are always found together. The first three parts characterize Tualen and Merdah; the second three Delem and Sangut. These linkages, as we shall see later, are not accidental, but have meaning to the people.

So far the emphasis has been on the spread of the features.[8] By grouping these, structured classes emerge. It is within this framework that the individual idiosyncracies of the main servants is expressed. As we have seen, each is characterized (to most informants) by a different eye shape and skin colour. Tualen is still distinguished by his heavy jaw, Merdah by his bulbous nose and Delem and Sangut by their unusual necks. It is primarily through these individual features that their personality comes to the fore.

This brief analysis of the distribution of the features highlights the degree to which the visual corresponds with the oral tradition. This is of special relevance as these figures do not appear in the epics.

The place of the servants in Balinese culture

Having described the six servants and examined the distribution of their features, it might be worth adding a few general points about their iconography in the light of the cultural tradition. As Baru and Rana are so insignificant and do not in fact exist in all collections, the focus here is on the four main servants.

Some elements of their appearance suggest they are common peasants. This is true particularly of their bodies from below the neck down. Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut form a distinct group. Within this, however, a visual opposition separates Tualèn and Merdah from Dèlem and Sangut. From the Balinese interpretation of parts, it emerged that the cap with a tall peak, the incisions in the ears and the breasts portrayed on Tualèn and Merdah have religious overtones, the latter two by virtue of their hermaphroditic associations (see note 2, in the charts in the chapter). On the other hand the caps with hair tufts, the dangling large ear-rings, and the keris depicted on Dèlem and Sangut are ornamental and imply wealth. So the first pair of servants possess a set of feathers which suggest religious values, while the set on the second pair are decorative and materialistic. This dichotomy relates to their roles in the play. Tualèn and Merdah serve the relatively virtuous Pandawas whose genitors are gods; Dèlem and Sangut serve the greedy, mundane Korawas who are ogres incarnate. It is interesting that this split is associated with features thought to be ritually pure or impure. Tualèn and Merdah wear the ritually pure checkered loin-cloth while Dèlem's goitre and Sangut's six fingers are signs of impurity (mala).

More generally the oral and literary tradition both identify the servants with the gods Iswara, Brahma, Mahadéwa and Wisnu.[9] Their particular skin colours tend to corroborate this identification. It is unsurprising here that Tualèn, who is the principal mediator and the servant whom the villagers most revere, should still represent Siwa, who is the central god of the different cosmic systems.

In a typically Balinese manner this identification can change. In the Darma Pawayangan, the philosophical rules of the shadow play, it is pointed out that an enlightened dalang incorporates Siwa (Hooykaas, 1973a,19).

So the following set of five emerges: the four servants who represent the gods of the cardinal points and the dalang who represents the centre and also Siwa. Seen within a wider context, this set can be related to similar configurations found in Bali as, for example, the pañca-resi, the five seers, the pañca-maha-buta, the five elements, the pañca-indriya, the five senses, or the pañca-sanak, the four siblings and self (see Hooykaas, 1974, 7). The last is perhaps the most interesting. The four siblings are said to protect an individual during life, if one takes proper care of them (see the myth of origin of Tualèn, and note 5). Dalangs explain that before a night performance they call on their four siblings to protect them (Appendix 3). It is tempting to postulate a relationship between the siblings and the four servants. This cannot, however, be substantiated visually (for drawings of kanda empat, see Weck, 1937, 57, and Hooykaas, 1974, 92).

Finally, I would like to turn to the problem of the nature of the servants. Several theories have been advanced to account for them in Java. These are primarily based on literary evidence. As early as 1897 Hazeu pointed out that they deviate so clearly in their shape and qualities from the other characters that they may be regarded as very old, indigenous figures who call to mind Javanese ancestors. Kats (1923b,55) argued that the Javanese servants are actually indigenous gods who were relegated to servants with the ascendancy of the Hindu gods and the semi-divine satriya. H.O.(1922,169-72) suggested that they are the mouthpiece of the simple village people, of their strength, wisdom and misery. Another opinion has been put forward more recently by Geertz (1960,277). He describes Semar (who in Java is the equivalent of Tualèn) as the comic, wise clown who represents the realistic view of life as opposed to the idealistic one held by the Pandawas. A few scholars have suggested that

they are related to the Indian buffoon, widushaka (see for example Holt, 1967, 131). Ras (1978) also draws attention to the similarity which may exist between the servants in the shadow play in Java and south India. Pigeaud (1938, 361-362) emphasizes perhaps more than the other scholars their peculiar iconography. He argues that their appearance resembles animals, in particular the dog, and indicates that they are hermaphrodites. A bisexual being is a mediator figure par excellence in Javanese culture (Pigeaud, 1938, 362).[10]

Initially their forms suggest that they are sudra, or common peasants, and unpolished, earthy rustics who have, however, pronounced personalities. Their portrayal requires further comment though. As one moves progressively in from the minor servants Baru and Rana, the strange forms of the servants stand out. They are grotesque, their heads huge and bodies monstrous. Their stumpy legs are dwarf-like beneath the towering torso. Their features are exaggerated and awry. Tualèn and Merdah further have large breasts. Although Dèlem and Sangut are flat-chested, they also seem to have a touch of femininity exhibited in their inflated nipples and soft, fleshy bodies. They fall clearly into no neat, standard category. Their appearance suggests that they are both misshapen wards of the royal court and anomalies. It is known that dwarfs and grossly distorted men were taken under the protection of a prominent prince; (in Java they were known as polowijo; see Holt, 1967, 83). It was thought that they had supernatural power which had to be contained and perhaps augmented that of the prince. As anomalies with attributes of different categories, they are eminently suited to be mediators. We have already noted that the servants stand out in the play as the main mediators between the satriya and the audience, between the world of mythology and that of man (see also Chapter 8). Douglas has argued of anomalies that, on the one hand they are dan-

gerous but can be controlled by man, on the other that they enrich meaning or call attention to other levels of existence (1966, 5-6).

The iconography and behavior of the four servants highlights their complexity and ambiguous nature. They have at least four roles. They are commoners, royal retainers of the court, clowns and fools, and extraordinary anomalous beings of incredible supernatural power. These roles tend on occasions to merge into one another, except for the last. Tualèn is in no way a buffoon or fool for example when he mediates during the Sudamala ceremony between gods and men.

Conclusion

It is interesting, in conclusion, to look for a moment at the relationship of these figures to the tradition of clowns, tricksters, jesters and fools found so widely from American Indian mythology to Elizabethan drama. The Balinese servants are often in a position to say things as they really are and make mockery of social pretensions. In this, they seem very like a figure such as Touchstone in As You Like It, who may tell the truth, sometimes tartly, with impunity from a privileged position (Welsford, 1935, 249-52). The problem of whether they are tricksters is more complicated. Here it is worth quoting Radin (1956, viii), who gives a clear statement of how he sees them: "Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself. At all times he is constrained to behave as he does from impulses over which he has no control. He knows neither good nor evil, yet is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social..." Radin's opening terms are sufficiently vague as to be uninformative when applied to the Balinese servants. The other features are more interesting. Merdah and Sangut deceive others, but Dèlem is often duped. Tualèn and

Dèlem behave impulsively; but only Dèlem, who is stupid, arrogant and pompous, knows neither good nor evil. So, between them, the servants muster,up the required features, but no single one has anything like all of them.

In retrospect, it would seem that the servants have certain features of all these roles. They are clowns, jesters and fools, but in what sense they are tricksters is more problematic. This overlooks, however, their most essential characteristic, namely their supernatural power. This is true above all of Tualèn. In the next chapters, I hope to shed further light on these complex, ambiguous figures when we examine how they are related to the other characters in the shadow play.

Notes

1. Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut are also the four main servants in north Bali. For the few other servants found there, see note 9, Chapter 2.

2. Galestin (in the transcript of a lecture given at the University of Leiden, date unknown) identified servant-like figures which bear a distinct resemblance to the Balinese servants Tualèn and Merdah, first on the reliefs of the east Javanese temple, Candi Jago.

3. The theme of two (or three) brothers is found throughout much of Indonesia. The younger brother is generally more spiritually developed than the elder one. For examples of accounts describing the relationship of the brothers see Bubuksha (Rassers, 1959, 79-83), the story of Grantang and Cupak (McPhee, 1970, 183-5), and myths from Sumba (van Wouden, 1968, 25-30).

4. The beginning of this myth resembles Winter's translation of Manik Maya which Rassers (1959, 24) sums up as follows: out of chaos there arose one being, the highest god Wisésa; he then divides three times in succession as 1 heaven and earth, 2 sun and moon, 3 brother Manik and Maya. Manik is another name for Guru while Maya is another name for Semar (who is equivalent to Tualèn).

5. As Hooykaas (1974, 3-4) points out the kanda empat personify the concomitants of a person's birth: the amniotic fluid, the blood the vernix caseosa and the after-birth (to which the umbilical cord belongs). These represent the four brothers, or sisters in the case of a female, who accompany the person through life. If properly taken care of with the correct offerings, they protect him or her.

6. Van der Tuuk (1897) also describes goitre as mala. The sanskrit term mala has been used to refer to bodily defects such as, among numerous others: goitre, crippleness, hair-lip, or blindness. A menstruating woman, or a woman who has just given birth until she is purified is also ritually polluted - and so in a state of mala., Such people are not allowed in a temple. (On mala, see Hootkaas, 1973b, 6-7.)

7. Lèngkong which means crooked (v.E.) is usually used of a stem of a flower to indicate that it is bent and not straight.

8. In examining the features, one can further construct a synthetic model of a representive male servant. This is based on showing the features the majority of them (three out of five male servants) have in common. It is interesting that, in comparing the servants to the model, Baru deviates by far the most from it, while Tualèn and Merdah together come the closest to it. As we have noted, the Balinese think much more highly of Tualèn and Merdah than Dèlem and Sangut. So typicality seems to imply proper behavior which pertains to the ideal model of a servant.

9. In the oral tradition, Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut are related to Wisnu (and Siwa), Mahadéwa, Brahma and Iswara respectively. Their skin colours tend to support the oral tradition. In the Darma

Pawayangan (see Hooykaas, 1973a, 126-7) the servants are somewhat differently associated with the gods: Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut with Iswara, Mahadéwa, Brahma and Wisnu respectively.

10. Mediums may also be hermaphrodites in Bali (Belo, 1960, 69). They have a respected position in the society. In passing, it is interesting to note that Shärer (1963, 53 & 57) says that hermaphrodites in south Borneo belong to the group of priests. They are called basir and are both honoured and despised.

Feature: headdress

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a.udeng mejambul	2a.unspecified headgear; crest			5a.for unspecified reasons it gives Tualèn and Merdah spiritual status.[1]
1a.udeng mejambul bok	2a.unspecified headgear; crest of hair			-
1a.udeng meperucut	2a.unspecified headgear; perucut: refers to a a brahmana's hair style (v.E.)			-

Feature: dress

1a.tengkalung	2a.shawl	3a.mainly worn by elderly women.		5a.as old, Rana wears a shawl.
1a.bulat biasa	2a.dress swept up between the legs; ordinary (style)	3a.seen in life.		-
1a.bulat genting	2a.dress swept up between the legs; very short.	3a.mainly worn by peasants.	4a.indicates coarseness & a sudra staus	5a.so, appropriately worn by most male servants.
1a.kamben biasa	2a.dress left to hang loose.	3a.it is a common dress style.		-

Feature: ornaments

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. anting-anting	2a. ear-rings	3a. seen in life		-
1a. dulalir ané bunter	2a. a large type of ear-ring; which is round			5a. worn only by Dèlem as he is proud (bangga)
1a. dulalir ané lantang	2a. a large type of ear-ring; which is long			-
1a. subeng	2a. ear-plug	3a. seen in life		-
1a. sumpang sekar	2a. tuck a flower behind the ear)	3a. seen in life		5a. In the case of the male servants this is said to be a hibiscus flower, pucuk, which implies a bold (wanèn) character, and availability to the opposite sex.
1a. bungkung	2a. ear-ring	3a. seen in life		
1a. ulat-ulatan	2a. chains			5a. said to be purely decorative on Baru.

Feature: hair

1a. bok mejempongan	2a. hair; pulled loosely back	3a. seen in life.	4a. said to be messy.	5a. so, seen on Rana.
1a. kumis ceruncung langah	2a. moustache; (ceruncung: decribed as badly grown as it does not meet in the centre); broad			5a. it is described as a very ugly moustache, & so appropriately seen on Dèlem.

cont. over-leaf

Feature: hair

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a.jènggot biasa	2a.beard; ordinary	3a.seen in life.		-

Feature: eyes

1a.guling				5a.indicates a character who is inclined to meditation & has compassion for others, see description of Tualèn in text.
1a.sumpé	2a.a girl's hoop (v.E.)			5a.indicates a refined and noble character, see entry for sumpé eyes in Chapter 5.
1a.dedelingan	2a.deling: eyes wide open (v.E.)			5a.indicates a coarse character who angers easily, see entry for dedelingan eyes in Chapter 5.
1a.pijak	2a.eyes; to tread on (v.d.T)			5a.indicates a cunning, shrewd character, see entry for pijak eyes in Chapter 5.
1a.nilah	2a.unknown			5a.the same qualities as for the dedelingan eye are implied, but intensified.

Feature: nose

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. cunguh pèdèl	2a. nose; flat	3a. seen in life		-
1a. cunguh pesèt	2a. nose; squashed in	3a. seen in life		-
1a. cunguh menining	2a. nose; bulbous	3a. seen in life		-
1a. cunguh menur	2a. nose; button(v.E.) or snub	3a. seen in life		-

Feature: teeth

1a. gigi asat	2a. teeth; flat	3a. all Balinese must have their teeth filed, see entry teeth, Chapter 5.	4a. implies ritual purity & a civilized being, see entry, Chapter 5.	5a. so, all servants have flat teeth.
1a. gigi akaté	2a. tooth; one	3a. seen on old people.	4a. implies age and wisdom, expressed as: ia mula limbak pisan, liju nawang gumi, hẽ has travelled a great deal & knows the world.	5a. so, appropriately found on the male servants.
			b. also implies being a respected elder of the community.	5a. "
1a. gigi dadowa	2a. teeth; two	3a. seen on old people.	4a. see above, gigi akaté.	5a. on Rana it is said only to show her age.

cont. over-leaf

Feature: teeth/mouth

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. cecantelan	2a. (mechanical device enabling the mouth to be opened)			5a. found on all the servants as they - especially the four main ones - talk the most in wayang.

Feature: legs

1a. batis bawak akaté	2a. legs; short & dwarf-like	3a. seen in life		-
1a, batis pèrot	2a. leg; crippled	3a. seen in life	4a. indicates a state of ritual, & spiritual impurity; also implies a a character defect, see description of Dèlem - mala.	5a. found on Baru who is a very unimportant servant. No reasons are given for this, except to emphasize his low status.
1a. jerijin batis tubug	2a. toes of legs; stumpy	3a. seen in life on peasants.	4a. indicates the status of a sudra.	5a. so, found on the four main servants.
1a. jujuk biasa	2a. to stand; ordinary (meaning to stand with the feet together).	3a. seen in life.		-

Feature: facial extras

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a.gidak jantuk	2a.forehead; jutting out	3a.seen in life.		-
1a.kuping gedé	2a.ear; big	3a.seen in life.		-
1a.kuping metusuk	2a.ear; slit	3a.seen in life on women who wear earplugs.		5a.suggests bisexuality (Zoete & Spies,1938,161).[2]
1a.bibih bucuh	2a.mouth; protuding	3a.seen in life.		-
1a.jagut gedé	2a.jaw; big	3a.seen in life.		5a.seen only on Tualèn; it makes him look stupid (which he is on wordly matters)

Feature: neck and torso

1a.bohong lantang	2a.neck; long			-
1a.bohong gondong	2a.neck; goitre(v.d.T.)	3a.seen in life.	4a.indicates a state of ritual, and spiritual impurity, mala.	5a.found on Dèlem who is proud and arrogant, see description of him in text.
1a.bahong sigek	2a.neck; stumpy	3a.seen in life.		-
1a.batun salak	2a.adam's apple(v.E.)	3a.seen in life.		-
1a.nyonyo gatul	2a.breasts; indicated	3a.seen in life.		5a.suggests bisexual tendencies.[2]

cont.over-leaf

Feature: neck and torso

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. basang bèdog	2a. stomach; protuding	3a. seen in life.	4a. indicates indulging in one's senses expressed as demen medaar buin demem tekèn salwirin ané ada di jagaté, to enjoy eating and take pleasure in all wordly things. b. indicates a desire to protect the world (Sugriwa, 1963,28). c. fatness & robustness have Tantric-Buddist implications.[3]	5a. as this is a characteristic of the four main servants, they are shown with big bellies. b. "
1a. pungsed ngenah	2a. navel; visible	3a. seen in life.		
1a. jit engging	2a. behind; sticking out	3a. seen in life.		
1a. tundun bungkut	2a. behing; hunched	3a. seen in life.		

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1. cakra-mudra (S:" " ") (This gesture is not called a mudra by the villagers).	2a. wheel; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa, see entry hands, Chapter 5.	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: its aim is to give respect to the tri-sakti - Brahma, Wisnu & Siwa. See entry hands, Chapter 5.	5a. the servants are said to make this gesture in order to request the three gods to protect the state. On other characters in wayang, it is given another interpretation, see Chapter 5.
1. padma-mudra (S:" " ") (This gesture is not called a mudra by the villagers).	2a. lotus; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa, see entry hands, Chapter 5.	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: to worship & give respect to the 'seat' of Sang Hyang Widi & ask him to descend. See entry hands, Chapter 5.	5a. the servants make this gesture in order to supplicate Sang Hyang Widi to descend & protect the state. On ogres it is given a somewhat different interpretation, see Chapter 5.

cont.over-leaf

Feature: hands

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a. parasu-mudra (S:paraśu-mudrā) (This gesture is not called a mudra by the villagers).	2a. axe; ritual hand gesture	3a. gesture made during the ritual of a padanda Siwa, see entry hands, Chapter 5). (See also illustration of mudra in Hooykaas, 1966, Plate 27, which resembles the gesture on the puppet.	4a. according to the padanda Manuaba: to worship & give respect to the 'seat' of Sang Hyang Soma. b. Direction: NE World: immaterial Effect: to ward off frustrations, (Hooykaas, 1966, 33)	5a. the god Soma can be identified with the goddess of the moon Ratih.[5] This gesture is only seen on Sangut[6] (& raksasa Bala, see Chapter 3) as he is ugly, and he supplicates Ratih to give him beauty and gentleness-qualities which are associated with the moon).
1a. jerijin lima nemnen	2a. fingers of the hand; six			5a. seen only on one hand of Sangut, where it indicates a state of mala, impurity, see text.

Feature: colour (see throughout entry colour, Chapter 5)

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a.putih	2a.white	3a.white is associated with Iswara.	4a.indicates ritual purity.	
1a.kuning	2a.yellow	3a.yellow is associated with Mahadéwa.	4a.indicates some purity & attachment to the world.	
1a.selem	2a.black	3a.black is associated with Wisnu.	4a.it is an ambiguous colour, for it implies harmony, intelligence and virtue, as well as night & witchcraft.	
1a.pelung	2a.blue	3a.blue is associated with Wisnu & Sambu.	4a.indicates harmony, intelligence & virtue.	
1a.barak	2a.red	3a.red is associated with Brahma.	4a.indicates coarseness, pride & one who angers easily.	

Feature: colour (combined colours)

See entry combined colours in Chapter 5.
Ulangkrik requires special mention, as it alone is seen on Tualèn, see description of him in text.

Feature: extras (painted)

Balinese name	Translation	Context	Interpretation of context	Folk interpretation in wayang
1a.bibih limbak	2a.lips, thick(red)	3a.seen in life.		
1a.kulit mebulu	2a.skin; feathers (hairy)	3a.this mainly refers to animal hair or bird feathers, but can be used of human body hair.	4a.it is considered coarse, & implies the animal world.	5a.on the servants it mainly emphasizes their status as sudra.
1a.kumis ceruncung	2a.moustache; (badly grown as their is a gap in the centre)			
1a.polèng	2a.black & white checkered - of cloth (the borders of which are red)	3a.used during ceremonies to adorn shrines or statues.	4a.it implies ritual purity. The three colours refer to the Trisakti, see entry extras, Chapter 5.	5a.the cloth marks, among other things, Tualen's and Merdah's allegiance to the Pandawas, see text.
			b.it is one of the cheapest cloths on the markets and so, implies poverty.[7]	5a.so, it is appropriate that the sudra servants wear it.

Notes on the charts

1. It may be worth noting that this headdress with its tall peak has the effect of adding to the prominence and size of the head which is considered the most sublime part of the body (Chapter 3 & 8), and so the headdress is a good index of spiritual status.

2. Scholars, such as Pigeaud (1938, 361-2), have argued that the servants in the Javanese shadow play are hermaphrodites, see text.
   Although my informants never said that the Balinese are hermaphrodites, they agree that the pierced ears and breasts on Tualèn and Merdah show a bisexual inclination. Hermaphrodites have an accepted and sometimes honoured position in Balinese culture. So, they are included in the myth of the origin of clothes (Chapter 5) and also in the mantra pangègèr recited by a dalang before he begins to perform when he invites men, women and hermaphrodites, banci, to attend (Hooykaas, 1973a, 39).

3. This is apparent in such folk tales as Bubuksha, still known in Bali. In this story, the younger brother Bubuksha is a glutton who eats everything. His elder brother, Gagang-aking, on the other hand, diets only on plants. Bubuksha, whose way of life has Tantric-Buddist implications, is considered more spiritually developed than Gagang-aking. On Tantric-Buddism, see discussion of Bima (Chapter 6).

4. It is interesting that Pigeaud (1938, 362) points out that in the past juggling and conjuring tricks the Javanese servants made with their hands were related to old rites and magical hand gestures. It was appropriate, he adds, that the servants fooled around and made jokes - especially ones that were obscene and erotic - before setting out on a dangerous trip as this increased their magical power.

5. Bosch (1960, 60-1) draws attention to the connection between soma and the moon. In describing the primordial duality, he says that the gentle, mild part resembles darma, the water and the moon; this part is called Soma, the king of the plants from which the life-giving sap is obtained.

6. Scholarly dalangs who accompanied me to the padanda Padangtegal (see Chapter 5) identified the gesture of Sangut's six-fingered hand as parasu-mudra.

7. This additional meaning of polèng is only given in the context of the servants. The other meanings are, however, considered more important, see entry extras in charts, Chapter 5.

Chapter 8. The Visual System

As the main characters in the shadow play have been discussed, it is possible to turn to examine the puppet collection as a whole. It is apparent both that individual puppets are part of a wider scheme and that their differentiation is structed according to more general cultural ideas. So little importance can be attached to a single figure alone. Individuals are members of groups the relations between which are complex.

This system is clearly anthropocentric. By far the most puppets in any collection are modelled on man. The largest group is always the satriya. The other main ones include the gods, brahmana, servants and ogres. Even ogres, while facially resembling wild animals, have human torsos and limbs, stand upright and are clothed. The same applies to figures such as Hanuman or Garuda. There are few scenic items, the main two being the Kakayonan and Sungsang. Undressed animals have very minor roles.

It is important to understand something about the Balinese views on the body here. The head is considered the noblest part of the body, being identified with the brahmana caste, and the others with porgressively lower parts. At the same time the body is held to be a well-ordered representation of the macrocosm. Like the cosmos, it consists of three spheres: the underworld, earth and sky. From the feet to the buttocks is the underworld; from the stomach to the eyes is the earth; while the forehead is the sky (see Weck, 1937, 238; Hooykaas, 1973a, 4, also draws attention to the Balinese feeling of relationship between microcosm and macrocosm).

The iconography of the puppets can only be understood once it is realized that the human body mirrors the world to the Balinese. We have already seen that the parts of the puppets direct attention selectively to certain meanings (Chapter 5). In looking at a collection in its entirety, it emerges that the parts are not distributed at random, but are combined

systematically to express ideas within a system of beliefs and cosmology which are articulated in the performance.

The expressive nature of the puppets is emphasized by the fact that although their iconography is based on the idiom of the body, it sets out deliberately to separate them from human beings. The satriya's posture, for instance, is quite distinct: the head and legs are turned to the side while the shoulders are full-face in a position unnatural to man. Hand gestures are physically possible, but not ones found in daily life (except perhaps as religious gestures, mudra, made by a brahmana priest during a ritual, see Chapter 5). This criterion can be applied to all the features. Moreover, no attempt is made to show the variation which is actually found among men.

So a collection consists of a series of figures, most of which are derived from the mythology (Chapter 2), but they are more than this. They are religious figures with complex significance. As Cohen (1969, 218) has argued of symbols, they make tangible the values, norms and rules found in a society and such abstract concepts as rank, or good and evil. They also objectify roles and give them reality. The model which underlies the the structure of the stage and the dalang's equiptment highlights the symbolic function of the puppets. The model is known to all my informants who agree on its meaning. A less elaborate version is also found in the Darma Pawayangan (Hooykaas, 1973a,25). According to my informants it is as follows:

> The screen, kelir, is the sky or face of the world. The puppets, ringgit, are all the animate and inanimate things which exist. The lamp, damar, is the sun which enables there to be day and night. The banana stem, gedebong, into which the puppets are placed is the earth. The puppeteer, dalang, is god who is invisible to the audience.

At the same time, the puppets can be regarded as temporary loci of spiritual power. Before the performance the dalang requests Brahma to

give them life in order for them to 'glow' and 'dance' (see Chapter 9). So the values expressed by the puppets acquire special significance as the Balinese think of them as stemming from the gods.

It is relevant at this stage to point out that the Balinese society is undergoing change, the impact of which has increased especially in the last years owing to the influx of tourism. Also interpretations may vary in some places where I have not yet been able to carry out research. There is evidence, however, that in the period preceding fieldwork of which I have knowledge there had been relatively little change in the meaning attributed to the iconography. The meanings seem to be shared across the island to a remarkable degree, that is they form a system of collective representations. Several reasons account for why the set of beliefs expressed in puppet collections are so stable. Collections are almost completely standard throughout Bali. They differ mainly in the number of characters they comprise. The set of a simple village dalang tends to have fewer satriya and more ogres than does that of his wealthier, more sophisticated counterpart. (There is somewhat more variation between north and south Balinese collections in the puppets they comprise and their style, but they are still constructed with the same principles in mind, see Chapter 1.) Further, the literary background of the shadow play helps to ensure a high degree of continuity of the tradition. Generally it is the art form held in greatest esteem. The values embodied by the puppets are thought of as sacred and made public only during the performance in a suitably ritual context. It also represents the most conservative tradition of iconography and other art forms, such as statues, reliefs and drawings follow similar rules.

Further, the shadow play is the most ubiquitous art form. It is performed in the most isolated of villages, so that the humblest of villagers and

children are able to witness the play. The day performance is, moreover, the only art form which is requisite for numerous special religious ceremonies throughout the island (see Chapter 1).

The visual system does more than merely reflect the collective beliefs of the people for it actively moulds experience and behaviour. It acts as a powerful framework of interpretation in terms of which experiences can be structured and ordered. Holt (1967, 145) has said about the Javanese puppets that they serve as "a character chart by which to judge other people." The same is true in Bali. Outsiders, who came to visit us, were always identified with one of the figures in wayang (as were we). Thereby they were drawn into the Balinese view of the world and so made comprehensible. In this context, it is of interest that one of the terms for character is pewayangan, derived from wayang, or puppet.[1] For example, pewayangan ipun Dèlem means his character is like that of Delem - he too is stupid, proud and haughty. Further Mead (1970, 331-40) has argued that it is through the shadow play that the iconographic tradition is imprinted in children who watch it almost from birth. As a result, humans and animals in childrens' drawings are widely given expression through puppet forms.

Once it is realized that a collection is not only a series of figures derived for the most part from the mythology, but also that meanings are attributed to them which are shared to a remarkable degree, it is possible to look at Balinese institutions and culture in the light of the iconography of the puppets. In the course of this examination reference will be made to the epics when relevant.

For this discussion I shall look at the Peliatan collection because it is the oldest and fullest collection. It was made before the time of the Dutch. It also has the greatest number of satriya. This permits a detailed study of the caste category around which the epics centre. Other collections

will however also be mentioned. The analysis will be based on the charts of the puppet collections (see Appendix 5), concentrating on those parts, such as the facial features and the skin colours, which have explicit, and generally agreed upon, meanings to the Balinese.

In view of the differences between the groups comprising a collection, it is useful to consider the principles on which a classification can be based. Two axes may usefully be distinguished (see Appendix 5) and it is in terms of these that I wish to examine the relations between the puppets. The first is based upon status and determines the hierarchical ranking of the various categories. Here the gods are most sublime. They are followed by the different castes of men, with the demons and animals at the bottom. The second axis cut across the first. They are divided into the two rival camps of the Pandawas together with most of the gods, and the Korawas with their allies, the ogres.

The hierachical order of the universe

A puppet collection presents a view of the world which in its totality comprises celestial, human and demonic beings. In this cosmic order each social category or group is seen to have its proper duty, darma, a term which, significantly, also means morality (see Chapter 9). These duties form an interlocking whole, according to which the universe is ordered and each being has his appropriate place and function. By examining the iconographic system, it is possible to see how far individuals and the groups of which they are members live up to the cosmic order of which they are part, and the consequences if they do not.

Informants, who were here primarily dalangs as they are most knowledgeable about matters to do with the shadow play, all basically agree what the duties of the various groups are:

gods:	They have an eternal, higher morality which can not be understood by men. They may even be beyond human ideas of morality.
brahmana:	They should follow the six moral rules: good speech, good thoughts, good actions, good use of objects and persons, good work, have only one wife and be sexually faithful. They should maintain a state of ritual purity. This also entails never showing or feeling fear, anger or pride, and always being generous. They should be learned in literary and religious matters. Priests should know the form and words for the conduct of all rituals, and understand the calenders.
satriya:	They should be good administrators and warriors. They should protect and set a good example to their subjects and be fair and just to them. They should be virile lovers.
wesya:	They should engage in proper commerce.
sudra:	They should subordinate their individuality to that of the community and follow the rules and be respectful to the high castes. They should work hard in the rice-fields, on repairing roads and public buildings.
ogres:	They should be uncontrolled, greedy, powerful, ready to devour humans or harass virtuous men.
animals:	They can do no more than subsist and make themselves available to be eaten.

Two points need to be added about the groups. Most of the duties refer to males on whom the shadow play concentrates almost completely. Altogether very few women are portrayed, and these for the most part are interchangeable. Kunti, the mother of the three elder Pandawa brothers, alone stands out through her simple gown and heart-shaped turban. In passing, dalangs say that women should follow their husbands and show them complete loyalty. The woman's role, or lack of it is partly due to the fact that descent in Bali is traced through the patriline (see Chapter 6), but will still be discussed later. Further, ogres have a somewhat complicated position on the hierarchy. They are generally placed together with animals at the bottom of the scale, as they have no ability to distinguish between right and wrong. From this point of view they are inferior to men. Some informants, on the other hand, point out that as they have great supernatural power which humans can not con-

trol, they are superior to men.

In examining the axis which orders the hierarchical ranking of the groups, with special reference to the duties outlined above, several issues emerge. It is evident that there are three types of features. There are those, like tusks and sharp teeth found only on ogres, which signify a particular group. Some features are restricted to a class, but are not possessed by all its members. For example, the crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang, is only depicted on satriya who belong to the Pandawa camp, but not all satriya of this camp wear it. Other features, such as the round eye, cut across groups as they are portrayed on gods, satriya and ogres.

There is a definite affinity between gods and the different castes of men: they have similar physiques, which are modelled closely on that of human beings, and all have filed teeth. As we have seen (Chapter 5) in tooth-filing, the Balinese have the idea that the last remnant of animality is removed and man becomes civilized.

Visual proximity is, however, especially marked between the gods and senior ruling kings. Both stand out by their ornate dress and often wear the same headdress which it was suggested in Chapter 5 is the main item indicating status. So senior kings of either camps, such as Cédi, Pratipa, Baladéwa and Kresna are portrayed with the same cone-shaped headdress, candi utama, as the god Brahma. Karna bears the same magnificent dome-shaped candi kurung as Siwa. Moreover Kresna and Baladéwa can be used interchangeably with the gods of whom they are incarnations, that is Wisnu and Brahma respectively. It is of interest here that all dalangs point out that Karna can represent his genitor, the god Surya, who does not exist in a collection. Although the five Pandawa brothers are also sired by gods, they never represent their divine genitors. Karna, in contrast to his half-

brothers is, however, the legitimate ruler of a kingdom as Duryodana presented him with the realm of Awangga. His sovereignty over the kingdom is not under dispute. In contrast one of the issues of the Mahabrata, borne out by the iconography as we shall see later, is the question of the legitimacy of the claim of the Pandawas to the throne of Astina. Further, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that Duryodana and Salya wear the same headdress (pepudakan, with its oblique peak rising up from the back) as the goddess Durga who is known in Bali above all for her ability to grant supernatural power for evil.

The affinity which is expressed visually between gods (and goddesses) and senior ruling satriya in the shadow play is perhaps unsurprising. Such titles (see also appendix 2) as Déwa Agung Gedé (great supreme god), Ratu Dewa Agung (supreme god) or Cokor I Déwa (the foot of the god) by which high ranking satriya are designated in life indicate their close relationship to the gods. Stutterheim (1935, 132) points out that most of the finds from the Old and Middle Balinese period from the 10th to 11th century refer to the cult of the deceased king who was worshipped as the incarnation, avatara, of a god. The same is true of early Javanese kings (Schrieke, 1957, 9-10; Zoetmulder, 1965, 272-5). My informants no longer say that the king is god incarnate, but the divine is thought to be immediately present in a rightful ruler. Swellengrebel (1947) in his account of the consecration of the king of Gianyar, based on material collected by Schwarz in 1903, gives a good picture of the nature of the king's relationship to the gods. At one point he says that it seemed as if the king during his consecration "became a god on earth, an incarnation of the gods" (Swellengrebel, 1947, 21). The brahmana priest, Agung Sidawa, in his report of the consecration seems, however, to have expressed a somewhat different view (Swellengrebel, 1947, 21). The priest did not consider the king actually to embody the gods. What emerges clearly, though, is that the king through his consecration

takes on various attributes of the gods of the four directions and the centre. These are described as follows:

> "batara Iswara sees to it that one does not lie; batara Wisnu brings happiness; batara Mahadewa ensures that alms and presents are given to unfortunate and needy people; batara Brahma ensures that innocent people are not punished; and batara Siwa grants an impartial judgement."
>
> (Swellengrebel, 1947, 21; my translation from the Dutch)

Other features stand out above the satriya which distinguish them from other categories, and unite them as a caste irrespective of their camp allegiance and individual traits. Apart from Bima, they appear at first sight relatively stereotyped. They are well clad, many in clothes which the Balinese say were traditionally worn when setting out for an official errand. They are handsome and youthful by comparison with the other castes. Together with the sudra, they are the only group, whose members all stand in profile and have two movable arms. The Balinese explain that their posture and ability to move both arms signify their active roles in the performance. In dialogues with others, hand gestures help to punctuate speeches. Moreover, the satriya are often seen fighting on the stage. They then require their hands to hold, shoot or hurl weapons of various kinds. Altogether their appearance and behaviour (see Chapter 9) is in line with their status as satriya the main duties of which are to manage the affairs of state and to fight.

Before turning to the lower castes, a word should be said about the brahmana, of which there are always very few in a collection. The Peliatan collection for example which, by the standards of collections, is very extensive, has only five: three brahmana priests, Bisma, Krépa, and Drona, the latter's son Aswatama, and the royal ascetic Biasa, of brahmana descent. On the other hand, the collection has forty satriya men (excluding the six satriya who never enter plots based on wayang parwa; see

Appendix 5). In looks, the brahmana priests resemble the heavenly sages, such as Narada, who are ranked lower than gods as they are only their messengers. The sages also do not challenge the authority of the gods. The elderly bearing, the restricted use of arms (only one being movable) and the simple dress consisting of a gown and usually a cloak, of the sages and brahmana priests all indicate their withdrawal from daily life. Apart from Drona, they also all wear the turban, ketu, which is a sign of their spiritual authority. Drona, who is the most prominent priest in the shadow play, stands out by his sly and crafty expression (see Chapter 6). Although Biasa is not so important a figure in a collection (I Badra does not possess him), his round eye and hairy, purple or yellowish skin, portray him as a violent, coarse character. Aswatama, by his dress, fits in with the junior Korawa brothers.

The limited number of brahmana corresponds in the first instance to the balance in the epics which concentrate on the deeds of the satriya. However, it is worth pointing out that this also reflects the situation in Bali where less than 1% of the population of about two million is made up of brahmana; of these there are only a few hundred brahmana priests, the majority of which are padanda Siwa (Hooykaas, 1977,I). At the same time, their depiction is on the whole unprepossessing. It is not a convincing illustration of their place in the mythology, but still less does it tally with their roles in life where ideally the brahmana, especially the priests, embody the noblest spiritual values. It is evident that, of the high castes, the focus is on the satriya in a collection, and the brahmana are relegated to an inferior position. The reasons for this will be elaborated later. Here it is sufficient to say that it mainly through the satriya that the conflict in ideals is expressed.

The third caste, the wèsya, are by far the least significant group in a

collection. They also do not occur in the epics. Dalangs simply classify them as followers of the satriya. There are between two and five of them in any collection. They have no individuality (and are thus not included on the charts)and, in contrast to the other castes, are completely static, as they have no movable parts. Their lack of prominence in the plays can be understood perhaps in the light of their position in Balinese society. According to the classical Indian model (which dalangs refer to when talking about the third caste in the abstract) they are supposed to be traders involved in commerce. In fact wèsya in Bali are rarely merchants, but are subsumed effectively under the satriya whom they assist. Further, while the castes above and below them are relatively stable, they are involved in intense competition to achieve upward mobility (on the position of the wèsya, see Hobart, M. 1979).

The sudra have already been discussed at length, but little reference has been made to their position vis-a-vis the other categories. Their gross, deformed bodies distinguish them sharply from the more refined high castes and gods. Their appearance fits well with the designation of sudra in Bali as djaba (outsiders) in contradistinction to the royal aristocracy, dalem (insiders). Their ugliness is also recognised as appropriate: it shows that they are no threat to the satriya whose handsomeness and bravery are manifest in love and battle.

At the same time, the four main servants in particular are highly idiosyncratic in appearance by contrast to the relatively stereotyped satriya. It is of interest that the literature glorfies and elaborates on the individuality of the satriya. A curious reversal is expressed in the iconography. This may be a comment on the caste system, for among satriya it is caste and status which effectively eliminates individuality; among the sudra personality predominates over caste role. From an overall point of view, the

satriya are portrayed as uninteresting in comparison to the servants who have such complicated characters (see Chapter 7).

In addition, the sudra can move not only both arms, but also their jaws. This ability, together with the bold distinctive appearance of the four main servants, makes them eminently suitable to act as chief spokesmen in the drama. (Rana and Baru are discounted here as they have such minor parts; dalangs often do not even possess them.) In this role they translate for, and comment on, the high castes and, more rarely, on the gods. On these occasions they resemble the orators who predominate and influence the outcome of debates in village councils[2], while their satriya masters are like the more aloof, remote patrons (see Hobart,M. 1975, 65-92). Many of the features of the orators are replicated in the servants. they too have forceful personalities and do not experience lek, shame or 'stage-fright' in public; from their dialogues in the play it is also apparent that they know the current affairs of the community. In this role they represent moreover the ideas of equality which are so strongly marked in the council and are distinct from the hierarchy which permeates the wider society.

The servants are like the orators in another way. They do not have the authority to use physical force. In the shadow play, it is the satriya who forge political alliances and the battle for the kingdom is fought out between large armies. The servants are then only the retainers of the satriya. However, as we have seen, the nature of the servants is complex. Their role as spokesmen is one that perhaps comes to the fore when examining their position as against that of the satriya. Their more ambiguous side as anomalous beings will be touched on later.

The ogres are generally ranked lower on the scale than men as they can

not grasp the difference between right and wrong. At the same time, their bodies, which are part human, part animal indicate that they are creatures who are not easily placed within a category. This suggests that, like the main servants, although to a lesser degree, they have supernatural power at their disposal (see Chapter 7).

Their appearance and conduct, however, show above all that they have no morality. The Balinese say that their faces resemble wild beasts for the most part or, in a few cases, slovenly pigs (B.12). Irrespective of the fact that they stand upright and are clothed, their faces and their unruly hair, tusks, hairy bodies (sometimes covered in skin sores, bulénan) and dark, or 'hot', skin colours signify their wild nature. If the padanda Manuaba's interpretation of their hand gestures (see charts in Chapter 5, in particular the interpretation of sika-mudra found only on ogres) is accepted, these also indicate their low stage of development. As such they are uncivilized beings who are separate from men and gods. It is also of interest that their savagery is primarily expressed by their facial features for, as mentioned earlier, the Balinese conceive of the head as the noblest part of the body. It is unsurprising that the villagers describe them as beings who do not know the rules of the community, and hence lawless and disordered. In passing, it is worth noting that the ogres in a collection are derived from both the Mahabrata and Ramayana, in particular the latter; but this is of no consequence on the stage when they are used indiscriminately as a group to assist the less virtuous camp of the Korawas.

The ogres have some five followers called raksasa bala. These have minor roles and do not talk (and so are not included in the charts in Appendix 5). They stand out though by their grotesque bodies with enormous phalluses, which are especially conspicious as they are completely naked

and one leg is usually lifted. I was unable to establish exactly the meaning of their appearance, but it may be suggested that it symbolizes a lack of control over desires. One of the raksasa bala (C. 94) has an immense round eye (which most of my informants referred to as no longer dedelingan, but nilik) indicative of exceptional crudity and violence. These distorted figures are of interest as they not only show Balinese creative imagination at work, but also emphasize the uncontrolled nature of the other ogres: they are after all their chosen followers and are classified with them.

A few important mythic cratures, such as Hanuman, Garuda, Wilmuka, or Antaboga, stand upright, wear clothes, and combine human and animal or bird feathers. Their unusual physiques correspond to their position. For, like ogres, they are ambiguous beings with great supernatural power. Hanuman and Garuda, who have the most prominent roles of the four figures and who appear in numerous dramatized stories, are also mediators. Hanuman may intervene at any stage in a play in order to reconcile camps (see Chapter 6). Garuda, besides being Wisnu's or Kresna's vehicle, acts as a link between heaven and earth in fetching the elixir of immortality in order to procure the freedom of his mother from the clutches of her serpent sister (see Chapter 2 & 9).

Apart from these creatures, however, the portrayal of all four-legged animals and minor monkeys indicates their very inferior position when compared to other groups. While they are imaginatively conceived, especially in view of the fact that some of the species, like the lion or elephant do not exist on the island (but are only known mythologically or from other parts of Indonesia), they have no redeeming human features. They are clearly outsiders to the hierarchical system composed of completely, or at least partly, social beings. Their appearance is in line with the sharp

distinction made in Bali between the human and animal world. For, as Covarrubias points out, the Balinese have a "repugnance for actions characteristic of animals" (1965, 129). So children are not allowed to crawl on all fours and, up to the age of three months, are carried so that they do not touch the earth. Bestiality, salah karma, is considered one of the worst crimes. Traditionally, both offender and animal were thrown into the ocean; nowadays generally only the animal is drowned while the man is imprisoned or exiled. The crime is thought to make the land so impure that epidemics might break out or crops be blighted. A large purificatory ceremony has always to be performed after the event. Bestiality is so heinous an offence that the villagers usually explain it in terms of the man being bewitched so that the animal then appeared to him in the guise of an enticing woman (Covarrubias, 1965, 145-6).

In reviewing the iconography of the puppets, gods and high-ranking satriya appear to resemble one another, as do heavenly sages and brahmana priests. This suggests that a parallel is drawn between the respective groups. It also signifies the high status of senior satriya whose right to rule is vested in them by divine authority, by assimilating them to the gods. The four main servants are sudra or jaba outsiders, who are at the bottom of the caste system, but they have a special position vis-a-vis the other groups as they are the main spokesmen in the drama. This, though, is only one of their roles. For, as we have seen, they are also clowns and fools, and anomolous beings with great supernatural power. It is especially striking, however, that the hierarchical order into which the groups can be classified provides a world view which encompasses heavenly, human, and demonic beings. This means that duty, is set within a cosmic framework. So the categories, which include the different castes of men, belong to a transcendental order which is an intelligible moral universe.

The rival camps: Pandawas and Korawas

The characters in a collection form two distinct camps: the Pandawas and the Korawas, members of which confront one another in the performance (Chapter9). Most of the gods support the former camp, the ogres the latter (see Appendix 5).

The conflict centres on the problem of succession to the throne of Astina. Although Duryodana becomes ruler of the realm, the five Pandawa brothers, sired by gods, have an equally strong claim to it (see Chapter 2). For the Balinese the epic is particularly apt as it touches on the complex rules of inheritance and succession in Bali. Primogeniture is the ideal rule in a satriya family; it is mitigated by preference for selecting the most suitable heir regardless of genealogical considerations. The seniority of the wife, of the heir, and individual qualities all play a part in determining fitness to rule.

Further evidence of the legitimacy of the king's rule is by his actions once he is installed as monarch. The contentment, harmony and stability of his realm are proof of his success as ruler; and this success attests to the legitimacy of the kingship (cf. Worsley, 1972, 5-7).

One of the most important themes mirrored in the iconography of the protagonists seems to be their respective fitness to rule the kingdom of Astina. It is in this light that I want to examine the differences in features between the camps.

Before turning to the visual, it is first relevant to point out that the Balinese perceive the world as integrated into an overall scheme organized according to principles of ritual purity. In this system, all groups are graded by reference to their subtlety and refinement, correspondingly to their purity. So, the gods, followed by the brahmana,

are the purest categories, while the sudra, then animals and ogres are the coarsest, or most polluted. The satriya fall between the two extremes. This hierarchy, based on purity, fits the proper duty of each group discussed.

The appearance of the characters, as well as their behaviour on the stage (Chapter 9), indicates their degree of purity, and concomitantly the degree to which they fulfil their duty. The group which primarily concerns us here is the satriya who comprise numerically by far the greatest number of figures in a collection and who are the source of the conflict.

The satriya form, as we have seen, a clearly demarcated status group. Certain important features, however, separate the satriya of the Pandawa camp from those of the Korawa camp. It is immediately evident that a stronger sense of solidarity mark the Pandawas. For instance, in the Peliatan collection fifteen out of the twenty-five Pandawas (or 60%) wear the crescent-shaped headdress, supit urang; twenty-one (or 84%) are depicted with refined and slit eyes; twenty-three (or 92%) hold their hands in a graceful gesture, referred to by brahmana priests as saro-mudra; thirteen (or 52%) have yellowish white skin colours. The princes who stand out from this group are mainly Bima and his sons. They too, though, wear the supit urang headdress which is the main status symbol of the Pandawa camp. The features of the Korawas are more variable. The most common and unspecified headgear, udeng-udengan, is portrayed on only five out of the fifteen (or 33%); eleven (that is 73%) have coarse and round eyes; the same number hold their hands in saro mudra gestures. A greater range of colours, which graduate from yellowish white (or 20%), and tones of orange (or 13%), brown (47%), red (7%) and purple (13%) are found among the Korawas. Only in dress

is a greater consistency shown among the Korawas than among the Pandawas. Nine (that is 60%) of the former camp wear the dress bulat biasa mecingcingan melancingan, when the cloth is swept up between the legs, but with part of it falling over or behind one leg; while eleven (or 44%) of the Pandawas are depicted in what is said to be the most elegant style, bulat biasa mecingcingan, with the cloth swept up between the legs. This particular style is only worn by five (or 33%) of the Korawas. Overall, the satriya who comprise the Pandawa camp show a greater sense of unity and refinement, and correspondingly of purity, than those of the Korawa. Their features, moreover, imply that they do not squander their energy, but possess self-control and poise, traits which are requisite in love and war. Harmony and contentment of the realm rely on the fact that the administrators are united, civil and refined in their dealings with others. The Korawa camp are clearly more disunited, and many of its members appear crude and unpolished.

In this context it is significant to compare the five brothers of each camp, for they form the focal point of the conflict. (Only the Peliatan collection has five Korawa brothers; the others have two or three.) The visual emphasizes the opposition between them, (see Table I).

Headdress					Dress			Eyes		Stance			Hands			Colour					Extras		
Crown	Udeng-udengan	Pepusnngan	Supit Urang	Pepudakan*	Bulat genting g.	Bulat biasa c.	Bulat b.c.L.	Dedelingan	Sumpe	Legs far apart	Legs slightly/apart	Legs together	Danuh-mudra	Cakra-mudra	Saro-mudra	Dark red	Dark brown	Light brown	Orange	Yellowish white	Hairy skin	Shoulder covering	
-	4	1	-	-	-	4	1	4	1	4	-	1	4	-	1	4	-	-	1	-	4	1	Five Pandawas
1	-	-	3	4	4	1	-	-	5	1	4	-	2	3	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	4	Five Korawas

Table I. Iconographic variation between the Pandawa and Korawa brothers in the Peliatan collection

* For the translation of Balinese terms, see charts in Chapter 5 and for the abbreviations, see Appendix 5.

There is no overlap in their respective headdresses. Durning does not even wear headgear; he is bald on top with unkempt hair sprouting from the sides. An uncovered head is a feature otherwise found only on ogres. Only the ruler of Astina, Duryodana, is portrayed in the same elegant dress, bulat biasa mecingcingan, as four of his cousins. Although these same four princes are depicted with a delicate gold chemise, all the Pandawa brothers are much more simply clad than their Korawa counterparts. The Korawas are also darker in skin colour than the Pandawas and hairier.

It is especially illuminating to look at the five main satriya of the innermost family circle: Duryodana, Dursasana and the three elder Pandawa brothers. In appearance Duryodana shows some refinement, but this is limited. Dursasana, whose head is tilted disdainfully upwards, has the coarsest nature of all the satriya. The Korawa brothers are too boorish and rough to attract princesses. The three elder Pandawa brothers present a somewhat different picture. Yudistira, who is very pure and delicate, is more like a brahmana whose duty is to be concerned with spiritual matters and not with the secular affairs of state. Arjuna, who is the most popular prince, stands out as the ideal satriya. His very typicality, commented upon earlier (Chapter 6), implies conformity to caste morality. Bima's looks are unusual. His huge, vigorous body distinguishes him from other satriya, while certain features link him not only to the Pandawas and Korawas, but also to the gods and ogres. The standard criteria by which to judge satriya seem inappropriate when applied to him, for he is an ambiguous figure who cannot easily be categorized.

Visually, there is little immediately to connect the Korawa satriya with the ogres. They are humans while the ogres appear in part as savage beasts. Initially, only their overall crudeness in looks, character and actions establishes an affinity between them. However, in the great war of the Bratayuda the Korawas are allied with the ogres. As Table II shows, irrespective of the variation in size and composition of the collections, there are more Pandawa than Korawa men. (This seems to apply to all collections, not only those examined in detail). In the

Collection	Pandawa camp			Korawa camp			
	brahmana	satriya	total	brahmana	satriya	ogres	total
Peliatan	1	25	26	4	15	9	28
Ewer:	1	22	23	4	12	8	24
Badra:	1	23	24	3	11	13	27

Table II. showing the difference in composition of male members of each camp.

drama, dalangs adjust this imbalance between the camps by adding the ogres. As warriors they actively participate in the conflict by helping the Korawas. While gods, women, servants and mythic creatures may comment on events or assist in the background, they are essentially outsiders to the war of succession fought out between the satriya and their supporters, the ogres, a few brahmana and wesya. These last, though, have no fixed role and can enter on either side.

To the Balinese the sympathy of the Korawa satriya for the ogres is mainly expressed in their skin colours. As we have noted in Chapter 5, body colour is considered the most sensitive substance indicator as it reflects the mystic nature of the characters. The Korawas are relatively darker, or hotter, in colour than the Pandawas. For instance, in the Peliatan collection thirteen out of the twenty-five satriya who belong to

the Pandawa side (or 52%) are yellowish white, said to by the lightest colour portrayed on humans, while only three out of the fifteen Korawas (or 20%) are this colour. The lightness of the Pandawas in contrast to the Korawas is still more extreme in other collections. In I Ewer's, 59% of the Pandawas are yellowish white in comparison with 8% of the Korawas; in Badra's 70% of the Pandawas are yellowish white and only 18% of the Korawas. The other satriya, apart from Bima who is often grey (see charts in Appendix 5 of Ewer's and Badra's collection), cluster around the same colours as the ogres: orange, brown, red and purple. These tones all comprise red, a colour which, from the significance attributed to puppets' parts (Chapter 5), indicates coarseness, anger and lack of control

The existence of the Korawas raises the question of how they fit into the cosmos. For, while there is no strict opposition between the camps, it is clear that overall the Pandawas are better satriya and so also more suitable as rulers of the realm. The Balinese adopt two opposing theories when trying to account for the Korawas. In the first, they are simply outsiders to the moral order of the universe as they do not follow the darma of satriya. More commonly, however, the Balinese point out that the division of the Pandawas and Korawas is linked to the system of binary opposites found in Java and Bali:

> right: left; young; old; female: male; day: night; moon: sun; and so forth (cf. Weck, 1937, on ruwa-binĕda, the law of opposites on a more detailed discussion of right and left, see Needham, 1973, XI - XXXIX).[3]

In this theory of symbolic opposition, the evil of the Korawas is necessary to offset and complement the goodness of the Pandawas. This view is laid out in the Old Javanese treatise, Korāwacrama,[5] known also in Bali, and neatly summed up by Swellengrebel (1936, 25) as follows:

> The Pandawas and Korawas "are each others counterparts and indispensable completion... The equilibrium between the groups should ever be maintain. If the Korawa have been humiliated they shall have their revenge on the Pandawa; but not by killing them, as the Pandawa, too, are indispenable. How would things be right with the universe without the existence of the Korawa and Pandawa who fill the whole world...?"
>
> (taken from Bosch,1960, 87)

The contradiction between the two theories can only be resolved by reference to the Mahabrata where it is said that the Korawas are ogres incarnate (Chapter 2). They have thus a double nature: they are satriya as well as ogres incarnate. Their lack of morality and coarseness is then appropriate as they are fulfilling the duty of ogres.

It is interesting here to observe how the visual attempts to identify the Korawas with the ogres. According to folk tradition the relative lightness of the Pandawas is associated with daylight, lemah, the sense of sight and virtue because the ability to distinguish things visually is thought crucial in enabling man to discriminate between right and wrong. In contrast, the relatively dark body colours of the Korawas suggest night, peteng, blindness and evil.[4] In passing, it is worth noting that the term buta means not only blindness, but also ogre (see the translation of buta by Hooykaas, 1970, 45; cf. the meanings of buta given by van der Tuuk, 1897, and van Eck, 1876).

Finally, a word should be said on the four main servants in order to see how they fit into the cosmic order. Although certain features link Tualèn and Merdah with the Pandawas and Delèm and Sangut with the Korawas (Chapter 7), they are united as a distinct caste group. They are sudra, who are at the lowest rung of the caste system. As such they are integrated into the overall scheme of purity, for their uncouth, gross forms and often downright vulgar behaviour are in line with their

caste duty. It has, however, already been noted that they have several roles, and possess great supernatural power. Having examined the iconography of the puppets in terms of purity, we can now turn to look at the place of supernatural power in the shadow play.

Supernatural power: kesaktian

So far, supernatural power, kesaktian, has only been touched on sporadically with certain characters, like Bima or the servants, who cut across categories.

The subject of kesaktian has been little explored in Bali, although scholars, including among other de Kat Angelino (1921). Goris (1926), Poebatjaraka (1926), Weck (1937) and Hooykaas (1978a) have referred to this power. It is moreover difficult to obtain information on kesaktian as the villagers are loath to talk about it as this might imply knowledge of witchcraft. Others might then suspect them of being witches. Here I will only make some tentative remarks on supernatural power which seem to have a bearing on the shadow play.

Hooykaas (1978a, V) has pointed to the predominant place of magic or supernatural power in Balinese life and literature. It is also an important theme in the shadow play. The most relevant thing perhaps to bring out when discussing kesaktian is that there is no single framework to explain why the various characters have this power. The iconography seems to summon up different literary and oral traditions. In order to understand the place of kesaktian I shall look in turn at the main characters who are said to be powerful.

First, however, it is necessary to have a brief look at the folk beliefs on the subject as these help explain in particular the role of the satriya in the shadow play. For the Balinese knowledge of kesaktian

is primarily obtained from the gods, especially from Batara Sakti, alias Batara Durga, who is the goddess of the pura dalem, or the 'Temple of Majesty' (whom one is afraid to call by name, ie. Durga or Yama; Hooykaas, 1978b, 937). Supernatural power may also be inherited, in which case it is generally handed down from mother to child. Further, there are manuscripts on the subject which a person can study. In day-to-day life the Balinese say there are two forms of kesaktian: penengan, supernatural power for good, or right-hand (white magic) and pengiwa, supernatural power for evil, or left-hand (black magic; cf. Hooykaas 1978a, 3). However, on a different level the motives for seeking kesaktian are dubious, for it never loses the quality of being easily convertible to different ends, good as well as bad. So it is hard to contain within moral boundaries.

The main feature of supernatural power is the ability to change shape, ngeléyak, in order to bewitch others mainly with the aim of injuring or killing them (on witchcraft, see Weck, 1937, 182-203). The range and variety of forms one can assume depends on one's level of power. A man who is very powerful can become Barong, the Lord of the Jungle, or even the dreaded witch Galon Arang (on Barong and Calon Arang, see Belo, 1949, 18-39). Men with lesser power can transform themselves into monkeys, sows, snails, hogs or goats, among other forms.

Gods and brahmana are thought to have knowlege of kesaktian, but their great purity puts them beyond the desire of it. In life, the Balinese say that it is primarily married women belonging to the satriya or sudra caste who use kesaktian in its evil form, pengiwa, in order to harm others. They attack people at night, when they change shape.

Such women are accused of being witches.

Traditionally, however, it is pointed out that male satriya used the power mainly in order to frighten their subjects and make them submissive to their rule. Their weapons are also seen as sakti. Yet it is more complicated, for kesaktian is here an idiom by which the satriya can express their dominance. This comes out clearly in the Ramayana where an ideal king is described as follows: "The power, sakti of the king as hero is compared to that of the lion who endeavours to kill his enemies for like the lion who is the protector of the forest, the king is responsible for the preservation of the splendour of his realm". (Worsley, 1972, 45). In other words, supernatural power is not so much an alternative to physical powers as manifest in them. As such it is a demonstration of the charisma of the king and thereby a sign of his legitimate authority to rule the realm.

It is interesting how the indigenous ideas of supernatural power appear in the shadow play. Although with the exception of Bima the appearance of the satriya does not immediately indicate they are sakti, dalangs say they all possess power in varying degrees. Only Yudistira's great purity puts him beyond it. The satriya use their kesaktian in battles which, as will emerge in the chapter on performance, take place in every play dramatized at night with a screen. Although dalangs never make is quite clear what form of kesaktian the different satriya have, the implication is that on the whole of the Pandawas use, supernatural power for good, and the Korawas, supernatural power for evil. This power manifests itself in combat when satriya transform themselves into ogres in order to frighten and kill their opponents. Bima, his son

Gatotkaca, and Arjuna who are thought especially sakti can transform themselves into up to seven ogres in rapid succession. In this light, it is of interest that Kresna can transform himself into Wisnumurti, the thousand-fold ogre of the right, or Butasiyu tengawan[6]. Moreover, as the Pandawas are more sakti than the Korawas, the latter have to call on the ogres to augment their own power in battle. Weapons used by satriya may also be sakti. Here attention is drawn to the arrow, pasupati, presented to Arjuna by Siwa.

I want now to turn to Bima and the servants, who as we have seen, are anomalous beings attributed with great supernatural power. Scholars have drawn attention to Bima's exceptional power in domains other than the shadow play; Hooykaas (1978a, 91), for example, gives a religious incantation of the Balinese poem Basur which calls on Bima with the aim of pacifying witches[7]. As Stutterheim (1956, 107-25) noted, and has already been mentioned in Chapter 6, his power seems to be Tantric and linked to his role in East Java and Bali in the 15th century when he was worshipped as a salvation figure. My informants were unable to give additional explanation of Bima's power. He seems in fact to have been relegated in importance in comparison with other satriya, as he is considered stupid and impulsive. In the eyes of the Balinese, it is Kresna who is the most sakti satriya

The great kesaktian of the servants seems in some way to be connected with their roles as mediators in the performance. As was discussed in Chapter 7, it is they who translate the Old Javanese which the epic characters speak. In this role they give shape to the mythology and so exercise influence by interpreting the tradition. As mediators they also make accessible the doings of the high castes as well as the gods and ogres to the predominantly sudra spectators. This is

especially true of Tualèn who mediates during the Sudamala ceremony between the gods and the world of men (see Chapter 7 and 9). It is in this sense that they have power.

It is worth noting here that the god Bayu, Bima, the monkey god Hanuman, and the servants Tualèn and Merdah all wear the black and white checkered design. On the one hand this cloth, which is only portrayed on these characters in a collection, appears to mark their relationship to one another: Bayu is the genitor of Bima and Hanuman, and in one of the folk tales (Chapter 7) it is told how Bima gave Tualèn and Merdah the status of brothers. On the other hand, supernatural power may be seen on one level as dangerous and essentially amoral and so it can be postulated that the black and white checkered cloth, which denotes purity (see Chapter 5), acts as an agent which controls otherwise dangerous power, directing it into virtuous channels. It is then appropriate that neither Dèlem and Sangut nor the ogres wear this design as they do not use their power to advance the cause of the gods and bring harmony to the realm.

The place of kesaktian in the shadow play throws further light on why most of the brahmana have an unprepossessing appearance and the women such relatively insignificant roles. Apart from Biasa, all the brahmanas enter the great war on the side of the korawas and are described as very sakti, especially Drona. However, brahmana ought to be too pure to desire supernatural power. In life it is primarily women who are taught to seek kesaktian for private ends and practise witchcraft in secret at night. The conflict though is largely concerned with the question of who are the rightful rulers of the kingdom of Astina. Women do not participate in the battles fought out in public between men. So, they have small parts in the stories which concentrate on the war between the camps.

The earlier discussion focused on the scheme of purity into which the groups are integrated. Ritual purity seems the predominant ideology when examining the iconography of the puppets. However, in the contect of the shadow play, supernatural power is also important. Although power seems in part to be expressed in terms of purity, purity and power are best viewed as two separate principles which cannot be reduced to one another.

Conclusion

It is clear that a puppet collection is more than a series of figures who are derived for the most part from the mythology. It is also a system of shared representations which expresses important cultural values of the Balinese.

Geertz, in discussing the Javanese shadow play, argues that the struggle between the Pandawas and Koravas is "not between good and evil... but between the old opposites of kasar and alus feelings, between base animal passion and detached, effortless self-control, like Arjuna" (1959, 270). An examination of the visual data, however, suggests that the beliefs expressed are more complex. Already the appearance and behaviour of the servants as well as that of Bima, emphasizes the fact that coarseness need not have the negative connotations implied by Geertz's argument. It is the servants' darma as sudra to be coarse. Their status moreover does not prevent them from having great supernatural power. Power is an important principle in the shadow play which seems to be separate from refinement or purity. As we have seen, most of the characters have some degree of power. It is interesting that all the anomolous beings, like Bima or the servants, to whom special power is attributed are coarse and unpolished.

In the first place a collection presents a view of the world which in its totality comprises celestial, human and demonic beings. In this cosmic order each group has its own proper duty or morality. These carefully defined duties are seen to stem from their degree of innate purity. Darma can be identified here with adat, the rules which govern all relations between men and the cosmos. Adat has been translated as customary law (Boon, 1977, 51) or "traditional rules of behaviour" (Geertz and Geertz, 1975, 197, fn. 12) but these do not take into account its full nature. This has best summarized by Shärer (1963, 74-5) on adat among the Ngaju Dayak in Kalimantan as follows:

> It certainly means more than simply "usage, custom, habit." We can only grasp and interpret its significance through the conception of God. Seen in this context the notion has a double meaning. Firstly that of divine cosmic order and harmony, and secondly that of life and actions in agreement with this order. It is not only humanity that possesses adat, but also every creature or thing (animal, plant, river, etc.), every phenomenon (eg. celestial phenomena), every period and every action, for the entire cosmos is ordered by the total godhead and every member and every part of the cosmos possesses its own place in this order, allocated by the total godhead, and has to live and act according to this ordained place.

It is interesting further to note that this divine cosmic order comprises both a superior and an inferior group of men. The superior group are described as ideally "well-balanced, physically and psychically harmonious, self-controlled, reliable, industrious, calm, brave, elequent and virtuous," while the inferior group are "bad people, ugly people, and untrue people" (Shärer, 1963, 40-3). Both groups have their necessary place and function in the cosmic order.

Although the separation between the camps in the shadow play in terms of the qualities they portray is not as rigid as that between the two groups of men described by Shärer, his work on Kalimantar is included here as the iconographic system presents a similar ideal model of

the world. This is especially true if the more commonly held view of the Korawas is maintained that in a theory of symbolic opposition they too are an indispensable part of the world order. Their evil then offsets and complements the goodness of the Pandawas. At the same time, it highlights the fitness of the Pandawas to rule the realm. If their nature as ogres incarnate is recognized, the Korawas are, in any case, following their proper darma as ogres.

Finally, brief mention should be made of the Kakayonan which stands apart. Its place is conceived to be at the centre of the axes, the first which is based on status and determines the hierarchical ranking of the groups and the second which cuts across the first and divides the characters into rival camps. As such it is at they mystic centre of the cosmos.

So far, we have been looking mainly at the iconography. In the normal state in which they are seen, however, the puppets are part of a theatrical performance. There is a Balinese proberb cara siyat wayang, like war in the shadow play. This is said of a man and woman who quarrel during the day, but sleep together at night. The analogy is taken from the puppets who are thought of as sleeping in their box, out of sight of the public, and who only come to life when they fight, and so more generally when they are seen on the stage.

Notes:

1. Neither van Eck (1876) nor van der Tuuk (1897) translate pewayangan, as character. The villagers in my area, however, used this term when they wanted to give an especially vivid portrayal of a person.

2. Each hamlet, has a council which has wide legislative and executive power. The orators represent splinter groups or factions in the council. They have a crucial position for they are the public spokesmen in decision-making debates.

3. The opposition between the Pandawas and Korowas can be related to a more general system of classification of symbolic dualism. This bears a close parallel with arguments presented by Lévi-Strauss (1962).

4. It is interesting to note a further connection the Balinese make between the colours and the epic. They point out that the distinction in body colours between the Pandawas and Korawas is linked to the physical defects of their respective fathers: Pandu, the father (and only the pater) of the five Pandawa brothers is physically weak, but at least he can see, while Dastarastā, the father (genitor) of the Korawa brothers is blind (see Chapter 2). Blindness is considered one of the worst handicaps from which man can suffer.

5. Hooykass (1973a. 102-11) in dealing with the dalang draws attention to magical formulas recited in order "to summon rain", pangujana, or "to make a clear sky", panrangan. These already give an indication of the shadow play's connection with magic.

6. Although Salya and Boma can transform themselves into Ludramurti (see Table I, Chapter 4), also called Butasiyu kèbot, the thousand-fold ogre of the left, the pupper is much less majestic and ferocious-looking than Wisnumurti: it has a lower headdress and fewer heads and arms.

7. The mantra is as follows: "Om Am Um, I am Bima Rampag, smoothing down the hair of X; at once it is smooth (repeated three times); Om Man Ah Ah, Bima of Supernatural Power, smoothing down (as above);Om Am Ah, if we are not in a position to smooth down the hair of X, we will wither away, suffering from a dangerous dry cough; for seven years X will not profit from the medicine of the man gifted with supernatural power." (Hooykaas, 1978, 91).

   This mantra shows how Bima is thought to subdue the witches attacking patient X. It is recited while smearing oil from a shadow play lamp on the hair of the patient.

Chapter 9: The Performance

So far we have focused mainly on the iconography of the puppets. The shadow play is however not a static art form, but theatre. It is on the stage that the characters come alive or as the Balinese put it 'wake up', metangi, from their sleep in the puppet-chest. It is only then that the nexus which binds individuals and groups with one another is illustrated.

During the performance the iconography is presented as part of a complex set of dramatic elements. These include the movements of the puppets, the speech and voice, the background music and the plot. As we shall see the performances are not completely standardized. A dalang has a certain degree of freedom to improvise and elaborate on the basic outline of the plot; at the same time he is contrained by the text from which the story is drawn and the iconography which holds to a definite framework.

The following discussion is divided into three parts. First the activiies of the dalang are looked at because they give an indication of the purpose of the plays. As will become apparent, the stage is set apart from everyday life by the complex rites which the dalang carries out before and after the performance. These show that he is not only an entertainer or teacher, but also a ritual practitioner. This function is further stressed in the Sudamala ceremony which, it will be recalled from Chapter 1, is essentially a purif ying rite and seems primarily to deal with things thought to be out of place.

The different elements of the shadow play are then described, and so puts the iconography in relief. Here the two types of performance, the one at night, wayang peteng, and the one given during the day (or sometimes dusk or evening; see Chapter 1), wayang lemah, are clearly distinguished. Although both require puppets, tell stories in dramatic form which are largely based on the classical literature, and involve religious values, the purposes are quite distinct. They are aimed at entirely different audiences. This is vividly reflected in the manner the dalang narrates and manipulates the puppets during each type of performance.

Finally, I want briefly to consider the significance of the shadow play in a wider cultural context. I am here relying primarily on views expressed by dalangs and the villagers in my area. This is followed by a conclusion.

The ritual activities of the dalang

In the preface I suggested that neither the term for puppet or puppeteer should be translated into English because of the intricacy of their nature and significance. From the previous chapters something of the complex status of the puppets should have emerged. In this and the following sections, it will become clear that the dalang is an entertainer, but also has a number of other functions. These include being one of the main agencies in the transmission of cultural values and ideals, a mouthpiece of public opinion and a ritually marginal person who in the performance represents a link between the worlds of the gods and of men[1].

Even in the night performance, which takes place after the anniversary of a temple or in connection with an 'internal vow' (for the occasions when it is performed, see Chapter 1), and which comes

the closest to pure entertainment, the dalang carries out important ritual activities. These mark him off from ordinary people and indicate something of the powers attributed to him. This becomes perhaps most apparent in the religious incantations, mantra, which he recites (most of which are found in Hooykaas, 1973a). As Balinese ritual is complicated and little understood, I have included in Appendix 3 an example of the range of activities carried out for a night performance by I Ewer and for a day performance by I Badra. The accompanying mantra can be found in Appendix 4. Although dalangs may differ in the details of the rites, such as in the offerings made and the mantra recited, variation in my area was slight.

Dalangs agree that the series of rites which a dalang conducts before a night performance have essentially a three-fold purpose: to protect him from dangerous spirits, such as witches and demons (see below); to invoke the gods to descend and enter both him and the puppets; and to ensure that the spectators enjoy the performance and believe the truth contained in the myth.

A dalang mainly tries to protect himself from the evil spirits who may attack him when he is still at home before a show or on his way to the booth. The exact status of demons, buta (on the meaning of the term, see Chapter 8), is unclear, They are said to be invisible and dangerous with insatiable appetites. They may however be given a respectable place by being incorporated as part of a cosmological system as the pañca-maha-buta, the five great elements (see Chapter 7; also Weck, 1937, 62-7). Witches, who were mentioned in the previous chapter, are said to come out primarily at night. The mantra pasikepan (see Appendix 4;1) recited by I Ewer gives a good example of how and from whom the dalang seeks to protect himself:

Yes, supreme god Tunggal,
Grant me magical power,
(So that) demons and witches are happy,
(So that) the people are happy,
(So that) the gods are happy,
All which exists in the world be happy and worship,
and so depart in happiness.
(Sky and earth.)

Further protection from evil is still required on the stage before a dalang begins to narrate. As one dalang put it, witches in particular can cause havoc: for instance, they make the dalang stumble on entering the booth, they may shake the screen, or put out the lamp. In these unpleasant ways they try to prevent him from performing. It is on the stage that the dalang carries out the most complex rites. By sprinkling it with fresh water and presenting offerings to the gods, he creates a pure area in which to perform. He also recites numerous incantations invoking the gods to descend into him and into the puppets. For it is their presence which ensures that the audience will enjoy the play and believe what is said. The mantra panggègèr (Appendix 4;6) and mantra pangurip wayang (Appendix 4:9) are included here as they demonstrate this vividly:

Yes, I am god trinity
Who possess guna (the ability to stimulate; on guna
see note 2, Chapter 3),
Attract men,
Attract women,
Attract tranvestites (or hermaphrodites),
(So that) they gather in front of me,
To listen attentively to me,
My body is the god of love, Semara,
(If) the (the spectators) are bored on looking
at the god of love, Semara,
They will be bored watching me.
May their happiness not flag (repeated three times).
AM UM MAM.

Wake up god of the puppets, Sang Hyang Ringgit,
and dance,
Brahma give them life,
So that the puppets will glow.

Each puppet is thought to have a soul and it is the god Brahma which enables them 'to glow', _mecaya_, on the stage. Only then can they move or dance with fluidity and grace.

Few rites are carried out after the performance. In view of the above, it is unsurprising that the dalangs whom I interviewed first request the gods to bring back to life those characters who have been killed during the drama. Afterwards, the god of the puppets, Sang Hyang Ringgit, is requested to go back to sleep. Finally the demons are appeased with offerings and sent home.

The preparation of a dalang before a day performance is much less elaborate than those before one given at night. There seems to be two main reasons for this. First, it takes place in an area which is already pure during the day (or conceptually still light). This is generally in a temple or household compound (see Chapter 1 for the occasions when it is performed) and so it is not prone to attack from demons or witches. The latter in particular come our mainly at night. Secondly it is not intended for a human audience, but for the gods. This will be discussed in the penultimate section. So it is of great importance that the dalang is ritually pure when he performs. In order to attain the proper state of mind, dalangs agree that it suffices to recite the _mantra Kakayonan_ (Appendix 4;11; see also the description of the Kakayonan in Chapter 6). After the show a few further rites, similar in purpose to those above, are carried out.

There is one somewhat unusual type of performance called _wayang Sudamala_ which suggests the ritual role of the dalang perhaps more clearly still than either the night or day performance. It also gives an indication of the power which may be attributed to the puppets. As it is a complex subject which would require a thesis in itself, it is

simply summarized here. The performance is only part of the whole proceedings and, in many ways, is a preamble to an elaborate ceremony which is carried out by the dalang afterwards on the stage. This type of performance seems mainly to deal with people who are in some way out of place either through death, illness or danger (by being born on an unpropritious calendrical date; see Chapter 1). The purpose of the ceremony seems to be purificatory when order needs to be reasserted. I shall take up this point later.

During the ceremony certain important puppets are stuck into the banana stem and further offerings are presented. Illustration A.11 gives an example of the Sudamala ceremony performed by I Ewer during my fieldwork. It was given in connection with 'an internal vow' for a child who had previously been very ill. The ceremony followed on after I Ewer had conducted the regular rites for the night ceremony. For this particular occasions I Ewer chose nine puppets, five of which he said represented the gods of the five-fold division of the cosmos, pañca dewa[2]. The flower which were stuck behind the five puppets symbolized these gods. This is laid out in Table I.

Puppets installed:	Gods represented:	Colour of flower used:
Kakayonan	Siwa	multi-coloured
Tunggal	Iswara[3]	white
Bayu	Brahma	red
Tualen	Wisnu	blue
Siwa	Mahadewa	yellow
Wisnumurti		
Ludramurti		
Durga		
Sungsang		

Table I.

The ritual acts of I Ewer were primarily concerned with preparing purificatory water, toyal penglukatan. The puppets (and mantra recited; see Hooykaas, 1973a, 93-101) always play a relevant part in the production of this water. Each of the five puppets, representing the gods, was taken in turn out of the banana stem; the handle of each was waved three times through the flame of the lamp; and the tip was then placed for a moment in the container of fresh water. At the same time, the dalang threw the petals of the flowers into the container. He then sprinkled some of the purificatory water which had just been made over the child, who was held by his grandmother, and gave him some to drink.

I Ewer explained that this way he purified the child who had previously been ill, and so set about ensuring his continued health and well-being. The dalang's action of waving the handles of the puppets through the fire reiterated this purpose. For the god of fire, Agni, was activated through this to burn away all ritual impurity, which seem often to be conceived of in the form of demons and witches, according to popular village ideas.

From the above it is clear that the dalang has multiple rules. His various functions are made more explicit in the performance to which I wish to turn now.

I. The night performance, wayang peteng

Each performances is a creative work. The dalang's skill is in directing the spectator's attention selectively to certain values which are represented as belonging to a higher order of reality. These are linked and articulated in the plot by which general issues are presented to the audience. At the same time a play is entertainment. As the plot is in many ways the culmination of the cultural ideals in wayang it will

be discussed last. Movement, behaviour and voice are simpler and primarily help to objectify rules and relations illustrated in the plot. The music adds richness to the play. It is through the puppets that the characters can be identified. They are the only expressive equipment used as there are no stage props. (B.14 and B.15 show examples of I Badra performing.)

Before looking at the various elements of the performance, it is relevant to draw attention to the formal structure of the stage. It is conceptually divided into clearly demarcated sides. All characters are polarized into two camps: The Pandawas (or right-hand group) enter from the right of the dalang and the Korawas (or left-hand group) enter from his left. An invisible vertical line down the centre of the screen separates the right-hand from the left-hand side. In the night performance the opposition between the camps is pronounced and results in conflict which is evenually resolved by the defeat of the impurer and coarser Korawas.

The movement or 'dancing' on the stage

A consistency is generally maintained between the appearance of a character and his actions on the stage. Movement can, though, be considered an extension of appearance and establishes relationships and incorporates the figures in a dynamic sequence of events. The Zoete and Spies already emphasized the importance of action by pointing out that "drama is not the telling of a story, but action, dancing; the same words applies to both, for drama is only conveyed through the heightened rhythm of dance, never at the flat pitch of actuality" (1938, 18). In the shadow play the movements are as expressive as those seen in other drama forms, although the spoken word is probably of equal importance. This contrasts to other traditional theatre forms, like the masked dance, opera or lègong, a dance of three young girls, where there is little or no narration.

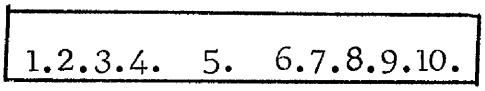
Dalangs vary somewhat in the way they move the puppets. A dalang uses his ingenuity in particular to illustrate details of the plot. So a character may strike his chest in sorrow, shock or surprise, or fold his arms gracefully or extend them to convey his seductive or amorous intentions. The dalang has also some freedom in how to depict battle scenes, although he is here restricted by the convention which says that heroes must fight with their appropriate weapons.

In general, however, the manner in which the characters move, their positions when together and many of their actions are standardized and referred to by definite names. To the spectators, as I discuss below, movement is poignant as it reflects and reiterates behaviour in life and its associated values which carry meaning for them. The continuum between coarseness and refinement comes particularly evident (on coarseness and refinement, see Chapter 6). Each figure has his specific style which highlights the degree to which he is refined and restrained or uncouth and uncontrolled.

At the same time, the way the characters behave and speak separates them from Balinese society and by implication from all human society. The movements are highly stylized, and so appropriately called dance, sesolahan. Most of the puppets can move either one or two arms. Only the servants and one or two ogres have in addition movable jaws. All speeches are punctuated with tense, nervous gestures. This manner of talking is looked down on in life and rarely encountered. It is said to indicate arrogance and lack of control[4]. The disproportionately long arms are though in wayang one of the main media of communication.

First I want to look at the positions the puppets can assume on the stage, When a dalang sets up a scene he brings out the figures one by one and places them, according to their camp allegiance, to his right or left in the main banana stem. Apart from a few other characters who may still enter, they remain there throughout the scene. The dalang is careful that the silhouettes of the different faces are visible to the audience and the forearms left free so that they can be articulated. In installing the puppets the dalang heeds two principles: to place them correctly according to their status and to create a balanced composition. This is best shown by the example in Table I, taken from a performance which I witnessed.

Drupada and Duryodana lead their respective groups as they are powerful, ruling kings. A position near the centre of the stage also indicates seniority[5]. Drupada is followed by his daughter and priest, Domyo. Bima is in front of Arjuna as he is older. On the other hand, when a scene involves characters of only one camp, some transgress the invisible central line in order to ensure visual balance. Here the most high ranking satriya are usually on the right of the stage while the lesser figures are on his left.



○	dalang (at the centre)
1.2.3. & 4.	Four lesser members of the Korawa side
5.	Duryodana
6.	Drupada
7.	Drupadi
8.	Domyo
9.	Bima
10.	Arjuna

Table II.

The servants' position when they are in the presence of high castes or gods is distinctive. They always lower themselves bodily on such occasions. They also make the typical servile gesture: the hands are clasped together and held at some distance from the chest (D.48). A version of this is adhered to in life by servants or any sudra when addressing senior satriya. It shows subvervience and respect to the king, ngastawa Ida Sang Prabu.

The manner in which the puppets dance is primarily indicative of social category and type, whether refined or coarse. Individuality is for the most part subordinated to these two criteria. This also means that movement is a decisive factor in uniting groups. Refined high castes and gods (with slit eyes) dance gracefully and elegantly, manis or alus; their arms swing gently. Coarse high castes and gods (with round eyes) dance in a proud, overbearing manner, or sengap, and move their arms flamboyantly. Elderly kings, like Drupada or Maksyapati, walk with composure, kalem, and dignity, dabdab, Gods are here mainly distinguished from men as they enter from on high, suggestive of heaven, swarga. Ogres are immediately recognizable. Their dancing is generally violent and terrifying, aèng, although some of the more comic ogres, like Gundul, walk with a rolling, unsteady gait, èngkas-èngkas. The two towering figures Wisnumurti and Ludramurti sway backwards and forwards, ngelayak, in front of the screen. Van der Tuuk (1897) points out that girls in the Javanese court dance, serimpi (see Zoete and Spies, 1938, 218) dance in this manner: the body is curved backwards until the head almost touches the ground. The dalang moves animals according to their genre. Birds for example swoop down, while monkeys leap and run with agility.

Only a few of the prominent satriya and servants stand out by their dancing. Arjuna is known for his fluidity and grace. Bima bounds audaciously across the screen. The movements of Duryodana are stiff and gauche. While all the servants walk with their arms jauntily in accompaniment to the movements of their bodies, limané metajungan, each has still a particular style of dancing. Tualèn shuffles along, swaying slightly from side to side, adèng-adèng nayog. His son, Merdah, who is quick and able, on the other hand moves rapidly, genjang, stopping abruptly at intervals to look ahead, metanyek seken. Dèlem struts around in an aggressive, dengang, uncontrolled manner, ten meguru. His bombastic nature is underlined by the ornate umbrella Sangut often holds over his head as he enters. Sangut walks very slowly, like a snail, lèmèd-lèmèd.

Not only the style, but also the behaviour of the puppets follows routines. It provides a framework within which the castes can be identified and differentiated. The brahmana generally teach and give advice. They may enter the Bratayuda. Satriya are mainly involved in battle, love and courtly exploits. Of these the first predominates. In fact the vast array of battle techniques is a reflection of the wayang world where there is always conflict between opposing sides (see Chapter 8 for the main reasons of the contention). This is drawn out and takes up a major part of each play.

The techniques are specified and the dalang draws on those he thinks are most suitable in a given circumstance. One dalang, known for his skill in battle scenes, described the main ways satriya can fight. They beat with clubs, shoot arrows, stab with the keris, slice with knifes, hurl stones, hit with fists, strangle, wrestle, fling the opponent on the ground, submerge him in water, or tear him apart.

A few characters possess their own distinctive weapons. for example: Baladéwa strikes his opponent with a lethal, sharp pointed club (C.97); Kresna flings his discus (C.98); Bima uses an unusually big club (C.99); and Arjuna has special arrows, the best known of which is pasupati (C.100) presented to him by Indra. (Series C.101-3 shows other weapons used, which are not restricted to particular individuals.) Bima and Hanuman may also pierce others with their sharp thumb nails, the waspenek. Whatever method is chosen, however combat is always a personal contest. Two characters attack each other; then one flees and the other pursues.

The servants, who are not directly involved in the battles between the satriya (see Chapter 7), mainly kick and hit each other or the ogres. Tualen is distinguished by his large and, as McPhee (1970,154) aptly describes, phallic-shaped arrow (C.104) which he mainly uses to beat up ogres. More commonly the servants simply abuse each other verbally, saling bat-bat; here the aim is to outdo the other is wit and lucid argument The servants, however, rarely fight. It is their uncouth behaviour on the stage which draws attention to their caste position. It is less formalised than that of the high castes, and takes place in the context of the village or outside it. It is worth noting here the contrast between the lucidity of their speech and the clumsiness of their movements.

The behaviour of the other social categories is not as distinct as that of the various castes. Gods and dressed animals or birds conduct themselves essentially like members of high castes. Ogres primarily fight, but employ less sophisticated techniques than the satriya. As they do not have access to the same range of weapons, they mainly use their hands or natural objects.

Implicit in the actions is that each social group has his particular duty. This is sharply defined in the case of the brahmana, satriya and sudra. We have already seen in Chapter 8 that the appearance of the wèsya suggests their insignificant role. They hardly enter the plays, except as followers of the satriya. They never talk and flash fleetingly across the screen.

It must be recalled at this stage that most of the audience do not view the performance direct, but through shadows. The dalang usually holds the puppets at a slight distance from the screen and moves them with the express aim to create vibrant, sensitive shadows. When they stand still in the banana stem, their heads only are rested against the screen. As a result, the silhouettes of the heads are small, dark and distinct; in relation to them the torsos and limbs appear large, light and fuzzy. To the spectators the shadows are the mirror images of the puppets. Essentially they see the reverse scene to that of the dalang: depending on whether one watches the puppets or the shadows, right becomes left and left right[6]. The shadows are therefore once removed from the substantial world of the puppets. It is hence unsurprising that the more scholarly dalangs interviewed say that the shadows refer to the illusory nature of the phenomenal world which they describe by the Sanskrit term maya, or illusion[7]. So the shadows provide an appropriate idiom which suggests metaphysical, or even transcendental, overtones. This is a point taken up later.

Voice and language

Voice and language follow set patterns which lend further formality to the relations depicted on the stage. They crystallize the emotive attitudes of the characters. Speech and language are more closely related to the plot than the voices which are intimately linked to the puppets' appearance.

In theory dalangs say all heroes have individual voices. However, during a performance, apart from the servants, these can generally not be differentiated. A dalang changes his tonal quality to suit the myth. On the other hand, like movements, the pitch of the voice is standardized and relates to social category and type. So very refined high castes speak in high voices, raos ring sisi, which are notably thin in quality. The timbre in harmony with their disposition is delicate. They may laugh in a high, sweet manner, ican manis. Coarse-looking high castes speak in low voices, raos ngerem, indicative of their roughness. Their speeches are interspersed with deep, throaty laughter, ican ngokok. Gods, irrespective of physical type, usually announce themselves in low raos ngerem and booming voices, raos agung, in order to make their supernatural status felt. The speeches of the ogres are also low-pitches. Yet additional sounds which they emit show affinity with the animal world. They may snort, snarl or growl; often they wheeze while talking. Animal sounds are apt and humorous. Most dalangs have great virtuousity in portraying the different species. Monkeys chatter, pigs grunt and snuffle, horses neigh, crows caw, snakes hiss and so forth.

The servants can be clearly distinguished by their voices. They vary ther pitch considerably more than the other characters. It can be high and thin or drop a few octaves to be low and sonorous. The changes in vocal quality conveys different emotions. One dalang listed the following which are exhibited in most plays. They weep, ngeling, especially after a prince of their camp has died. When aroused they shout, dados pedih. Their voices often express amusement and drollery, munyin pengarum. Tualèn, who is old, and Dèlem, who is especially crude, 'fart', dados ngentut. In the performances, Dèlem and Sangut

still stand out through their voices. Delem, in accordance with his character, slurs his words and speaks in an arrogant manner, nyeburang, while Sangut talks in a slow, syrupy fashion, lemed or belad.

Language in wayang is of particular interest as it denotes a defined system of etiquettes (cf. Geertz, 1960, 248-60 on the etiquette used in life in Java). It provides a good index of the nature of status relations between individuals and groups on the stage. The languages spoken in the drama do not neatly overlap with those in life. A clear division is also manifest between the servants and the other characters. The servants speak primarily colloquial Balinese while the others speak a form of Kawi, or Old Javanese of the classical literature (on Kawi, see Robson, 1972, 308-26). The high castes only use Balinese when they address the servants to emphasize the difference in status between them. A note should here also be made on Bima. Defying the ordinary forms of courtesy maintained by the satriya, he often speaks ordinary Balinese even to the gods. His appearance, as well as his speech, thus show he is a marginal figure (see Chapter 6).

The majority of dalangs are not fluent in Kawi and incorporate Balinese words into it, which is then called Kawi nguda. (This is the standard term used to refer to the Kawi spoken in my area of research.) Yet in the performance they disguise their inadequacy in Kawi by running together words deliberately in order to render them indistinct. The Kawi of the ogres tends to be impurer than that of the high castes or gods as dalangs feel at greater liberty to add Balinese which does not have the same high reputation as the idiom of the Classics[8]. At any rate, most of the audience neither understand Kawi nor Kawi nguda which is translated for them by the servants, in particular the four most important

ones, Tualèn, Merdah, Dèlem and Sangut. One or more of them are almost always present on the stage when the other characters are talking. They are, as I have already discussed in Chapter 7, the main spokesmen in all plays.

It is mainly through the language spoken by the servants that the spectators are made aware of the relative status of those who are conversing. Status in the drama, as in society, is largely determined by caste, office, age and sex. It is made clearer by the use of titles. The effective distance between the speaker and listener may also be indicated. The servants demonstrate and uphold the status of the others through the correct use of language level and title. They use the refined language, basa alus, to address or refer to high castes and gods. With the exception of Dèlem, who is generally considered too stupid, they may also use Kawi nguda. They speak to one another in ordinary Balinese, basa biasa, although coarse words may be included. The coarse or obscene language, basa kasar, is used to ogres and animals who do not wear dress. Clothed animals or birds, like Hanuman or Garuda, are given the same rank as high castes (on language levels, see the preface). Appendix 2 shows in a few examples how status is demonstrated in the language used during the performance.

The dalang also modulates his voice to accord with the melodies played by the orchestra. The sweetness or harshness of his tone is reflected in the music. As will become evident in the next section, music is intrinsic to every performance. It accompanies the songs, and speeches and actions of the characters.

The music

Rhythmic music played on four metallophones known as gendèr wayang accompanies all performances, except those based on the Ramayana. A percussion group, batèl[9], is then added to the gendèr quartet. Each gendèr has ten keys which are suspended over bamboo resonators. The musicians strike the keys with light, wooden hammers the shock of which produces a clear, ringing sound. The gendèr are divided into two pairs, a larger pengumbang and a smaller pengisep, which is higher pitched. The large gendèr form the leading unit while the smaller pair enrich the tonal quality by doubling their parts an octave higher.

The music provided by the gendèr ensemble is a complex, specialized subject. I shall restrict myself here to making a few comments on how it is interwoven with the other dramatic elements. For a detailed analysis of the music the reader is referred to the scholarly works by the ethnomusicologist, Colin McPhee (1966, 201-33 and 1970, 146-97). Each district and ensemble has its own style of playing. This is unsurprising in view of the fact that music is preserved by memory only; there is no notation. Despite this, McPhee (1966, 225) points out that the repetory played during a performance is standard; the musicians only feel free to choose their compositions, gending, before the show begins.

The role of the music is integrative. It announces entrances, supports the dialogues, creates a gracious atmosphere for romantic scenes, and adds excitement to scenes of conflict. There are basically two types of composition. Soft, alus compositions form the background to certain stanzas, peretitala, and quiet scenes. These are two-voiced,

non-rhythmic, archaic and static. The second type is vigorous and dynamic and accompanies departures to wars, battles, pursuits and flights. The music ranges from simple unison passages to intricate four-part polyphony (McPhee, 1966, 225).

The most elaborate composition is the opening one, Pemungkah, played while the puppets are taken out of their chest and installed in the main banana stem in front of the dalang (see Appendix 3). This can last up to one hour. The mood changes constantly from calm to agitated. It is followed by a quiet melody, Alas Harum (Perfumed Forest), while the dalang chants the opening stanzas to the play. From then on the music is incidental, accompanying different situations.

Soft music of the first type is primarily played during love scenes and moments of grief. Love episodes in particular demand close co-ordination between the dalang and musicians. As the prince makes overtures to the princess, the dalang sings in a high, langourous voice and the melody called Rebong is soft and slow in tempo. It changes to become loud and animated when the scene closes with burlesque advances made by one of the servants to the lady-in-waiting, the Condong. Masèm is played during sad events involving refined characters.

The second type of music includes principally the Angkat-angkat-an for departures and Batèl for battles. A loud, vigorous composition Runduh, also accompanies ogres and Duryodana's entrance onto the stage. My informants explained that a special composition is played as each of the four main servants enters. McPhee (1970, 177-8) only draws attention to the lagu Dèlèm, which belongs to the category of forceful music.

Mention should here also be made of the rapping sound which punctuates the dialogues. The dalang produces this by hitting the side of the puppet-chest with his gavel which is held between the toes of his

right foot. During battle scenes it is tapped energetically and loudly accenting the gestures of the warriors. This account attempts only to give an impression of the music which forms an essential part of any play.

The plot

A. The structure and development

The classical literature forms the basis of the plots. These are never written down. It is though important to distinguish between the literary source and the plot. The dalang only uses the bare skeleton of the story from the text. He develops the entire plot himself and improvises the dialogues extensively. He may also insert short stanzas (see McPhee, 1970, 154) in Old Javanese. These derive from the Classics, but not necessarily from the same story as the plot. They are sung or chanted and serve to illustrate a certain situation by establishing an evocative mood through poetic imagery.

The study of the range of interpretations in plots given by dalangs is far too large to be embarked on here. From my preliminary observations, it would seem that the dalang has some degree of freedom in elaborating on basic themes in the text and iconography. Three ways are apparent. First a particular dalang may stress an attribute which is less, or little, developed in the written or depicted tradition. Although he is least restricted here with the servants, I have heard, for example, a dalang wax lyrical on Drupadi's coquettish and fickle character. Generally she is portrayed as beautiful, refined and aloof. Second, many of the qualities imputed to a hero can be open to interpretation in a variety of ways. Third, the elaboration of character may involve recognition of potentially contradictory qualities. The first two points should be fairly clear. The last may be shown by the following precis of a plot (performed by I Badra in Pisangkaya):

Sumbadra went in tears to Hanuman to complain of the behaviour of her husband, Arjuna. He was a philanderer and not constant with any woman. Although he had many wives, no satisfactory arrangement had been made to ensure that each was content and her needs fulfilled.

Hanuman was well aware of Arjuna's faults and discussed with Sumbadra how to make him behave more properly with his wives. Hanuman suggested that they should both take on the forms of ogres and steal the weapons of the five Pandawa brothers, and so remove much of their power.

Meanwhile Arjune went to the tournament given by the king Suryaketu for the hand of his daughter, Puspasari, who was considered very beautiful. Arjuna clearly outshone his other competitors and won Puspasari. On leaving the tournament grounds, Hanuman and Sumbadra, in disguise as ogres, confronted him and demanded that he give them the princess he had just obtained. If he refused they would declare war on him and his brothers.

Arjuna was furious and fighting broke out in which Arjuna and his supporters was defeated and the weapons of the Pandawas were removed. The ogres then bound up Arjuna, but agreed to spare his life.

During the battle, Merdah ran off into the woods, crying bitterly. Ismaya descended and consoled him and told him that he could defeat the ogres by removing his clothes and lifting his arms above his head on meeting them. Merdah returned to the scene of the conflict and acted as the god suggested. The moment his dress was laid aside, Hanuman and Sumbadrawere forced to emerge in their true shapes.

Arjuna was abashed on seeing Hanuman and his wife, Sumbadra in front of him and enquired their reason for making war. Hanuman explained that he was not treating his wives properly and that they were unhappy. He advised Arjuna to rotate on a fixed basis the nights he spent with each wife. So each one would have an equal amount of time with him. Arjuna agreed to mend his ways.

We see in this play how Arguna's basically contradictory qualities, his philandering inclination and his great refinement, which implies self-control, are reconciled satisfactorily to the dalang and spectators. It also highlights the degree to which the iconography is a referent during the performance. While a dalang may chose his interpretation of a text, he is constrained by the values depicted iconograpbically.

In turning to the structure, it is interesting to look for a moment at Becker's account (n.d.) of the structure of the wayang plot in Java. he argues that it violates Aristotle's three unities of action, time and place. According to Aristotle, unity of action is of prime importance: an action should be continuous and have a beginning, middle and end. A play should furthermore represent actions which take no longer than a day and occur in a single place. Coincidences should be avoided. Plots in the Javenese shadow play, Becker (n.d. 12-4 & 23-5) suggests, have no temporal unity or linear casuality. The time enacted is unconstrained. Coincidences are approved. On the other hand, a Javanese plot has spatial unity: it must begin and end at the court while the middle section takes place outside the court in the woods, mountains or near the sea.

In Bali, plots seem on the whole to follow a more defined linear structure. Performances are shorter than in Java (see Chapter 1) where they often continue for several nights. Although coincidences occur, these are generally related to the plot; either they illuminate an issue in it, or at the very least involve some of the main characters. A play deals with some conflict or problem which is worked out that same night. It is principally the subplots which have a life of their own. The servants are the main actors in these. Subplots occur in all narrative and are related to the main action as a parallel, contrast or complement. It is primarily the dalang's skill in these which brings the play to life (see below).

As in Java however a Balinese play has spatial unity. It is essentially performed in three acts. In the first the cause of the conflict is defined, in the second it is developed and in the third it is

resolved. In Java (Becker, n.d.,16) each act has the same internal structure and is divided into three basic scenes: audience scenes, scenes outside the audience hall and battle. Each scene includes three components: description, dialogue and action. Although the same scenes and components crop up in a Balinese performance, the dalang seems to link them more consistently to establish a continuous sequence of events.

The subplots are usually interwoven with the second act and take place outside the court in the village. It is during these that the servants dance, sing, weep, tell jokes, frolic around, make advances to the opposite sex or become involved in skirmishes, especially with the ogres. These motifs are called penyelah (v.d.T.: beautifiers) and are considered embellishments to the main plot to which they add colour and vitality.

Further, in the Balinese shadow play the description (together with the inserted stanzas in Old Javanese), the actions and the dialogue appear to be equally developed. This means that characters are revealed not so much by what they say, but by their behaviour and what is said about them. Here the servants have a crucial role for they translate what the others say (Chapter 7). This means that it is mainly through their eyes that the speeches and actions of the mythological figures are interpreted and evaluated. This emerges clearly on examing the contents of a plot and accounts for their authority in the plays.

B. The content

It is worth digressing into the plays as they throw into relief remarks made earlier on the iconography, in particular on duty or morality (Chapter 8). While they deal with numerous subjects, ranging

from love and spiritual striving to political intrigue, they all seem to contain comic interludes, social commentaries and moral dilemmas. It is the moral issues which are perhaps especially evident. These are unfolded and worked out during the performance.

In the plays the servants stand out as the main exponents of the moral philosophy embedded in wayang. They explain and recommend what actions are proper, patut, and good, becik, and hence moral, darma. So morality comes to have a meaning similar to that in the western tradition stemming from Kant: it is concerned with the obligatory (MacIntyre, 1976,190-8). As such it embraces the darma of each social category and each individual. Darma, according to Zoetmulder (1965, 269), may also imply essential teaching ('essentielle Lehre') and ultimate reality ('letzte Realität'). In particular this brings out a theme of the thesis that wayang deals with a higher or ultimate order, in which the ethical statements of the servants play their part.

The moral issues centre on the Pandawas (or right-hand group, from the point of view of the dalang) and their opponents, the Korawas or (left-hand group). The Pandawas are on the whole more virtuous and altruistic than the Korawas, who are motivated by lust and material gain. The conflict is between the values they represent. By the ensuing battle and resultant victory, those upheld by the Pandawas are reasserted and legitimized.

The division between the camps does not, however, mean a neat split between 'goodness' and 'badness'. Each side contains characters such as Salya or Karna on the one hand, and Bima on the other, who as we have already noted from the visual, are ambiguous. The Pandawas are, however, purer and follow more closely the darma of satriya than the Korawas, and the plots underline their moral authority.

The orientation in the plays is best illustrated by stories and extracts from dialogues taken from performances. The first example is a dialogue recorded by Hinzler (1975, 36-7). Although she does not give the original language or where and for what purpose the play was performed, the dialogue is of interest as it highlights the role of the servants. The prince says little and speaks Kawi. The servants translate into colloquial Balinese and comment at length on his words. This corresponds with all performances I observed[10].

Characters: satriya prince, Tualèn and Merdah.

Tualèn: May I ask why there was a meeting this morning. (basa alus)

Prince: Yes, certainly, it is permitted. I am in great difficulties? (Kawi)

Tualèn: He is in a mess. (basa biasa) Can you explain why you are in difficulties. (basa alus)

Prince: It concerns the pupil of the holy man, bagawan Domyo. (Kawi)

Tualèn: He is worried about the pupil of bagawan Domyo. The sister of the master has just married the pupil of the brahmana. He, too, is a brahmana. (basa biasa)

Prince: We are distressed that she has married a brahmana and not someone of her own caste. I will instruct someone to check his background. (Kawi)

Merdah: What would the reaction have been had she married a poor man? (basa biasa)

Tualèn: Oh dear! In order to live one works. A poor and a rich man must work nowadays. So caste is unimportant. One says that it is good to work. (basa biasa)

Merdah: Say, I heard that she is shared between five men, the brahmana and his four brothers. (basa biasa)

Tualèn: If that is so, the family planning bureau has been successful. Five men to one wife who have four children is better than five women and one man each of who wants four children. (basa biasa)

This dialogue is interesting. Tualèn's statement, "so caste is unimportant," would be unlikely in the heartland of Bali where I worked.

(Hinzler worked mainly in Tabanan.) This performance was probably recorded in an area which is laxer in its traditional customs and more susceptible to outside influences. In Gianyar, during the time I was there, caste was revered and its rules rigidly observed. Yet also in my area it would be the servants who comment on social change. These comments remain, though, contained within the hierarchical system represented by the puppets.

The next example includes a brief outline of the story. It is based on the Adiparwa. The dialogues are thus seen in their context. The occasion of the performance is after the anniversary of the temple, pura geriya, at Pisangkaja. The dalang is I Brata from Sukawati. The speeches of the two Korawa servants, especially those of Sangut, illuminate the qualities of the main protagonists of each side. As the Balinese is highly idiomatic and repetitive, the passages are paraphrased.

Scene I: Present in the kingdom of Astina are Dastarastra, Duryodana, Sakuni, Karna, Dèlem and Sangut.

Dastarasta is grieving as the Pandawa brothers and Drupadi have been banished into the woods for twelve years, after Darmawangsa (Yudistira) lost the dice game. Sangut translates and comments on Dastarastra's words as follows:

> Sangut: Oh dear! I beg your pardon elderly king , dewa agung lingsir, I will explain what you said. He feels heartbroken and frail, like a man with no bones, as the five Pandawa brothers and Drupadi are no longer with him. No one can equal them. If you look in the world, Darmawangsa truly represents the god Darma who strengthens darma. No one equals Bima in firmness of character and determination. Where would you meet someone as handsome as Arjuna; it is as if the god of love, Semara, had descended to earth. No one can equal Nakula and Sahadéwa in their loyalty in Kunti. Also Drupadi's beauty is unparalleled. She should sleep in a bed one metre high.[11] Instead she sleeps on branches and leaves. It is on remembering them that the king feels heartbroken.

Duryodana, Karna and Sakuni pretend to grieve with Dastarastra. Sangut however sees through their deception and comments on it to Dèlem as follows

Sangut: Yes, he really is clever. You are often taken in by others who are clever, Delem. This is like an expression at the coffee stall: everyone knows now and ha known in the past that there are three things, trikayu parisuda,[12] (or in Balinese, bayu-sabda-idep): action, speech and thoughts. These cannot be separated. That which appears as one has diverse elements. That which appears diverse has an underlying unity.

Dèlem What do you mean?

Sangut: If the thoughts are evil, it is clear that the actions are evil. If the actions are evil, it is clear that the thoughts are evil. It must be so. If only the speech is clever, the actions and thoughts are still evil.

Dèlem: Oh!

Sangut: Why do you say oh? As he (Duryodana) is clever with words he can hid his thoughts and actions from others.

Dèlem: Oh, Sangut knows how to philosophize, ngupas pilsapat.

Duryodana, Karna and Sakuni ask leave of the king to go to the lake Dewétawana, ostensibly to look after the animal there. In fact, they want to search for the Pandawas.

Schene II: Present are Dèlem, Sangut and the Condong.

Dèlem and Sangut flirt with the Condong. Dèlem bombastically announces he wants to marry her. She makes fun of him telling him to speak from further away as his breath is so foul! He retorts that he always brushes his teeth with toothpaste, and so his breath cannot stink.

Scene III: Present in the woods are Tualèn and Merdah.

Tualèn is grumbling at all the ceremonies of manusa-yadnya, life-cycle rites (see Chapter 1 on the ritual cycles) he has to perform for his son Merdah, Merdah upbraids him saying ceremonies should be performed with sincerety. Once Tualèn died, he (Merdah) would have to lay out money for the ceremonies of pitra-yadnya, rites for the dead.

Scene IV: Present in the woods are Tualèn, Merdah and briefly Arjuna.

Arjuna tells the servants that he will go to bathe in the lake Dewétawana. Tualèn then complains to Merdah about the hardship they have to endure in the woods, and the following dialogue ensues in which Tualèn says he will return home in the disguise of an indigenous medical practitioner, balian:

Tualèn: I will disguise myself as a medical practitioner. The last time I was at home I gave my friends advice as to what medicines to use.

Merdah: Father, nanang, was once a medical practitioner?

Tualèn: Indeed, and I was a supernaturally powerful medical practitioner, renowned for my ability to cure conjunctivitis.

Merdah: How did father cure illnesses?

Tualèn: When a patient came with conjunctivitis I closed his eyes. When a sterile person came I stroked his stomach and told him not to eat rice for fifteen days .

Merdah: Oh, father is skilled. How did you train to become a medical practitioner?

Tualèn: One should not ask such a question -

Merdah: If you are not trained, you are pretending to have a skill you do not possess, nyolog karma. Retribution will be great. If father does not know the palm-leaf manuscripts on medical matters, usada[13], the religious incantations, the causes of illnesses or how to cure them, and never practises meditation, yoga, but asks money from patients, he is in effect stealing from them. it is also not proper that you should want to make a profit from curing others.

(Merdah runs off)

Tualèn: He is ashamed of me.

Scene V: Present at the lake Dewétawana are Arjuna, Duryodana, Sakuni and the four servants.

Sakuni requests to see Darmawangsa.

Scene VI: Present in the woods are Darmawangsa, Arjuna, Bima, Sakuni, Tualèn, Merdah and Sangut.

Sakuni explains to Darmawangsa that he wishes to make peace with the Pandawas. Bima does not believe the wily prime minister. Sakuni however convinces Darmawangsa that the celestial beings, gandarwa, have attacked the Korawas at the lake. Darmawangsa, who has easily compassion on others, persuades Bima to go and help the Korawas.

Scene VII: Present at the lake are Duryodana, Karna, Sakuni, some followers, the five Pandawa brothers and the servants.
Fighting breaks out between the Pandawas and the celestial beings. Indra descends and tells Arjuna that Sakuni has deceived him. The gandarwa attacked the Korawas in order to prevent them from finding the Pandawas. Arjuna is furious and fighting breaks out between the Korawas and Pandawas. The former are defeated and both sides depart.

I Brata who narrated on the above occasion, is renowned for the moral content of his stories. The virtuosity of the Pandawas is here set against the dishonesty of the Korawas. It is epitomized by Darmawangsa's desire to help the Korawas, although they have behaved badly to him in the past. The dalang also gives a vivid picture of the four main servants. I Ewer narrated the next story, which he said was derived from the palm-leaf manuscript, Catur Asrama[14]. The performance took place immediately before the Sudamala ceremony described earlier. To fit the occasion, I Ewer pointed out he chose a story which focused on the relationship between gods and men. Tualèn's role as mediator between them is emphasized.

Scene I: Present in the kingdom of king Pretu are the king, ministers, Tualèn and Merdah.

They are discussing the drought in the country. The decision is made first to perform, dewa-yadnya, rites for the gods, and then to visit the god Indra. In this scene Tualèn makes the following speech to Merdah:

Tualèn: In order to perform dewa-yadnya, the people must have pure thoughts. The feelings of those women who make the offerings must not be impure, insincere or gloomy. For as it is said in the poem Arjuna Wiwaha (for a precis of the poem, see Zoetmulder, 1974, 234-7):

> Like the shadow of the moon in a vessel filled with water,
> If it is clean and pure, the moon will be visible,
> In the same way god is present in every creature,
> If you perform yoga god will be manifest.
> To meet god whose form cannot be met,
> To understand god whose form cannot be understood,
> To grasp god whose form cannot be grasped,
> To confront Siwa who is eternal[15]. (Kawi)

If a jar is filled with clean water, the shadow reflected of the moon will be clear. This also applies to mankind. If their thoughts are pure, the supreme god, Ida Sang Hyang Widi, will be reflected within.

Merdah: Come let us prepare for dewa-yadnya. It is unnecessary to talk further.

Scene II: Present outside the palace are Tualen and Merdah.

Tualen complains about Merdah's harsh treatment of him. Merdah replies that he only wishes to correct his father as he is old and foolish.

Scene III. Present in heaven, Indraloka, are Indra, king Prétu and the four servants.

On meeting the king, the god is hostile for he does not think it proper for a mortal to come to heaven.

Scene IV: Present in Indraloka are Yama, Jogor Manik, his army, Indra, king Prétu and the four servants.

War breaks out. The king is seized, but manages to free himself.

Scene V: Present in heaven, Siwaloka, are Siwa, king Prétu, Tualèn and Merdah.

The king ascends to Siwa to complain about Indra's conduct and to request for the elixir of immortality. This is granted. Siwa orders Wisnu, his wife, Sri, their servants and the sage bagawan Wiswakarma to accompany the king back to earth. Wisnu's servant is told to become maize and Sri's sweet potatoes. Wiswakarma, the craftsman of the gods[16], should show the people how to grow rice.

It should be noted how Tualèn in his speech focuses attention not only on the proper action, but also on the intentions underlying them. In Bali it is primarily the women who prepare offerings, although there are special ones that men make for big ceremonies, like the anniversary of a temple. So it is to the women that Tualèn is addressing himself when he explains that in order to make offerings their thoughts must be pure, sincere and cheerful. Irrespective of the fact that most of the spectators are men (Chapter 1), the proper attitude in making offerings is considered essential for they underpin all ceremonies on the island.

Although there are numerous dalangs and stories are relatively often narrated, the few examples above indicate how a dalang is constrained by both the text and the iconography during a performance. The servants are in a sense the orators, who elaborate and interpret basic issues. Their comments tend to bring out the moral elements of the plots which centre on the satriya. At the same time, they have the freedom to fool around. Although the ogres actively participate in battle scenes on the side of the Korawas they, like the gods and animals, primarily heighten the tension between the camps composed mainly of satriya. The entrance of the gods

may also bring the play to a close.

II. The day performance, wayang lemah

The day performance, which is not given to a human audience for reasons discussed in the next section, is much simpler than the performance at night. It usually lasts for one or two hours and emphasis is on the narration. There is hardly any action. The descriptions and dialogues predominate and these are hardly audible.

The outline of the plot is derived from the classical literature. The choice of story is though restricted, as it must accord with the occasion (see Chapter 1). There are no subplots. The dalang elaborates and develops the plot primarily through the use of the servants. As the Old Javanese of most humble village dalangs is often not fluent, they rely on the servants in their narration. All the servants may not be required, however, as there is little or no conflict and the division of the camps is not prominent. Two may suffice for explaining the moral of the story.

In as far as the other dramatic features are developed, they mirror the same principles already discussed. Movement, though, is limited to the servants and a few other figures. The other puppets required for the story are stuck close together into the banana stem and form a quiet, static backdrop to the play[17]. The movements can in any case hardly be seen by the audience as, from their point of view, they take place behind the immobile puppets. The music is only played on two large metallophones gender pengumbang, and as a result is also less rich in tone and colour than the night performance.

The significance of the shadow play

The main concern of this thesis has been the iconography. So I do not wish to engage in a detailed analysis of the significance of the plays themselves. As we have seen, the puppets are primarily revealed during the performance as part of a complex of dramatic elements. A few points are worth noting in passing, however.

Clearly the night performance fulfils a number of functions simultaneously. To the Balinese its close connection with religion, agama, is prominent. This is shown by the rites which the dalang conducts before and after the sbow. These purify the stage and set it apart from ordinary life. Through the incantations the gods are invoked to enter both him and the puppets. It is only then that he has the authority to expound the knowledge contained in the mythology.

Both villagers and dalangs stress that one of the most important purposes of wayang is to reiterate the moral rules of the community. During the story the dalang is a mouthpiece for the gods and explains those values and ideals considered good and proper by contrasting them with those which are unvirtuous and improper. The tension between the two sides which builds up during the battle scenes and results ultimately in the defeat of the Korawas and the legitimation of the power of the Pandawas adds force to the conflict of ideals. Besides the victory of the Pandawas there is that of the gods who support them over the wild, coarse ogres. So wayang emerges as a didactic medium illustrating the different paths open to man: he can dissipate his energies in selfish and unworthy causes, or become a moral upright member of society. The following short poem, obtained from one dalang when questioned on the meaning of the night performance, puts this well:

Like the bumble bee who ceaselessly smells the
fragrance of the flower,
Like the stag-beetle who day and night never forgets
to smell the putrid and wallows in excretion,
So too there are good and evil actions.[18]

To the extent that morality underpins social life it would appear that wayang may have broader functions. The night performance is given fairly often in most parts of the island. Although stories may vary considerably, dalangs are always constrained by the texts which form the basis of the plots and by the puppets which are relatively standardized across collections. Therefore the iconography already establishes a fixed cosmological setting and emphasizes the interconnectness of all things - gods, men, animals, ogres and plants. Against this background it seems reasonable to infer that the dramatization of the duties of the different categories of being, and sometimes of individuals, helps to reaffirm the moral rules which are held to be the foundation of orderly life.

The night performance is however also entertainment. The servants make witty comments on social or political events primarily in the subplots, and also frolic around in a slap-dash manner and tell bawdy jokes. Although my informants did not mention this, while they provide pleasure in themselves, these comic, spicy interludes may perhaps veil the ethical instructions entailed in the plays, and make them more palatable and accessible to the public.

At the same time some sort of relationship is conceived to exist between the universe and the staging which represents it (see Chapter 8). If order is established in the performance, order is thought to be reasserted in the world of men. Dalangs explained this to me mainly in terms of supernatural power and purity (see Chapter 8). The victory of the Pandawas temporarily increases the power for good and purity. Demons and witches, who represent power for evil and impurity and hence disorder,

are driven out. (Covarrubias, 1965, 281-2, infers a similar purpose to the ceremony of nyepi, which is held once yearly, when the demons are expelled from the village.) As I understand it, this is part of a wider view of the world in which both purity and power tend to run down over time. Through the performance the dalang sets out to counter-balance the opposing forces seen to pervade the univers. Here supernatural power for good is opposed to supernatural power for evil; and purity is set against impurity. The balance between the opposing forces must be maintained; they are complementary and one must not engulf the other.

The Sudamala ceremony exemplifies the purificatory role, wayang may have. As was mentioned earlier it mainly deals with things considered out of place and unpropitious and therefore dangerous. Through the ceremony the dalang seeks to rectify the imbalance which has occurred. A village dalang picturesquely described this in the following account of a Sudamala ceremony which was given in conjunction with ngerorasin, the rite given twelve days after cremation, for a friend of his:

> While the dalang was giving wayang Sudamala the soul of the dead man came to the booth where it was held. The soul did not want to return to heaven, atma puniki ten mekayonan budal ke swarga. It wished to listen to the story and also to see his family and the dalang to whom he was still attached. Only the dalang saw the soul. He wept on seeing it and said "you can stay while I perform, but then I will prepare purificatory water so that you can depart to heaven in happiness."

In the ceremony the dalang helped to release the soul from his impure body so that it could depart to heaven.

The night performance seems still to be regarded as being significant in itself in some ways which should be noted. Both the Balinese and the texts refer to the special value of the shadow and the analogies to which it gives rise. This is brought out clearly in the conversation between Arjuna and Indra found in the poem Arjuna Wiwaha. In order to explain to Arjuna that all appearances merely attract and ensnare the

senses and are an illusion, Indra makes the following comparison:

> "For it is as with spectators of a puppet-performance (ringgit). They (are carried away,) cry, and are sad (because of what befalls their beloved hero or heroine) in the ignorance of their understanding. And this even though they know that it is merely carved leather that moves and speaks. That is the image of one whose desires are bound to the objects of the senses, and who refuses to understand that all appearances are only an illusion and a display of sourcery without any reality."
>
> (taken from Zoetmulder, 1974, 209-10)

The less explicitly formulated ideas of the Balinese on the shadow, as well as the passage above, which is well-known to scholarly dalangs, suggests that the shadows serve as vehicles for values and ideals which belong to a different, and apparently a higher, order. The screen can then be seen as a translucent membrane by which the gods communicate to an audience, and a more perfect world behind that of men is revealed. The messages in wayang are essentially transmitted in only on direction. For, the knowledge flows out from the dalang through his story and the images projected onto the screen. It is also interesting to observe that the servants through their bulk and massiveness (see Chapter 3 on how they are made) are less insubstantial than the other figures. They are like men awake who weave in and out of the world of men and gods.

Although I have not heard this expressed consciously by the Balinese, the plot may also echo the goals of Siwasiddanta (see Swellengrebel, 1960, 61-4; Pott, 1966, 109-10 & 132-42). The performance begins in darkness when the Kakayonan - the main mediating figure in wayang (see Chapter 6) - emerges and is danced in front of the screen. As the story begins there is a proliferation of images which may be taken to represent the multiplicity of things. Through conflict, which is an important and long drawn out process in every night performance, the variety of images diminish and disappear. A gradual reintegration from many figures to only one by the

end of the play is the general trend. Then the Kakayonan is set up again by itself. This might be argued as signifying a state of unity in which all things have been absorbed. It too is then laid to rest in the puppet-chest.

The day performance is in many ways quite different from the one at night. It is considered an offering, banten. As such it is essential in certain important rites in the Balinese cycles of pañca-yadnya. In what is probably purely folk etymology, banten is derived from enten, to wake up; (van Eck, 1876, translates it as to wake up momentarily, then to fall back to sleep). The villagers point out that enten signifies to be conscious, éling. So banten shows that one is conscious of the gods, matur pekélingan ring batara.

As an offering the day performance mediates between men and gods. Both dalangs and villagers stress this function. They explain, if asked, that the play takes place in heaven where there is always light, lemah. It is commonly also said, if not entirely consistently, that the pure setting in which it is held and its postulated proximity to heaven enables it to be given to the gods. Although a few adults and children may watch the show, they are irrelevant. The story moreover is hardly audible. It is also the gods who are thought to see the colours of the puppets; these are the most sublime of all the features (see Chapter 5). The colours are hidden from the audience who watch the shadows projected onto a screen during the night performance. The pleasure that the gods derive from the day performance is essentially the same as the essence, sari, they obtain from other offerings.

The stories chosen for the play in addition always fit the occasion. In order to illustrate this point two précis of stories are given. The first is taken from the Adiparwa and concerns the mythical bird Garuda (see Zoetmulder, 1974, 69, for a fuller version of the myth). It is commonly performed during the anniversary of a temple:

> Garuda's mother, Winata, has become a slave of her sister, Kadru, as the result of a wager which she lost. She would only be set free if she could obtain the elixir of immortality for her sister's children, who consisted of a large number of serpents. In order to free his mother from slavery, Garuda departs to heaven to steal the vessel with the elixir from the gods. Indra tries to stop him, but without avail and he succeeds in his mission. He brings the elixir to the serpents, and as a result his mother is freed from slavery.

The second story is derived from the poem Bimaswarga. The version outlined here was given to me by local dalangs (for a fuller account of the myth, see Stutterheim, 1956, 138-43). This story is often performed during one of the rites for the dead, after cremation.

> Pandu is sent to hell, kawah, because he killed the sage Kindama while the latter was in the form of a deer and was making love to another deer. Kunti urges the five Pandawa brothers to liberate her husband. Bima, aided by Tualen and Merdah, undertakes to rescue him. On entering hell he fights various ogres, such as Dorokala, Jogor Manik and Suratma who are torturing souls suffering samsara. Bima finally obtains the soul of Pandu and he is brought back from hell. Kunti and the Pandawa brothers then pay homage to Pandu and once the soul is purified, it is free to go to heaven.

Dalangs say that the stories help to explain the meaning of the rite. So the first story is suitable for the anniversary of a temple because the elixir of immortality symbolized the prosperity and welfare which the congregation is seeking from the gods. The second story illustrates how important it is that the family worship the deceased who can enter heaven only after he is purified.

Some additional comments may be worth making. The stories dramatized seem in general to represent the three stages which van Gennep (1960) suggested comprise a rite: these are separation, transition and integration. For example, in the story of Garuda, his departure from his mother represents the first stage; his ascent to heaven where he obtains

the elixir the second; and in the final stage he returns to his mother. In the story based on Bimaswarga, Pandu first dies; he then suffers in hell; finally he is liberated and purified, and his soul goes to heaven. Further the stories, in particular those chosen for the life-cycle rites and rites for the dead, refer to the moral aspect of the new role of the individual and the obligations it may entail. As we have seen, this is the point on which dalangs focus.

Another important characteristic of the day performance is the relative absence of conflict or movement on the stage. Although this was not made explicit, a general theme which seems to be recognized is that stillness is a precondition of spiritual knowledge. This contrasts with the more definite formulation of Mangkungara VII (1957,16) where stillness may be regarded as an active source of power[19]. So far as I have been able to discern, the Balinese do not attribute any special causal role to the day performance, but see it as in some way necessary and quite indispensable on certain occasions. However, in all of these change occurs. The anniversary of a temple celebrates the transition from one year to another. During the life-cycle rites and rites for the dead, basic and irreversible changes in the life of an individual are marked.

The day performance is of course only one of a number of rites which take place during the occasion in question, but it is among the most important. The emphasis seems to be on the superior knowledge contained in the mythology which the dalangs communicates to gods and not to humans. This knowledge is upheld by the motionless puppets in the background, whose colours the gods alone see. In view of what has been said, it is unsurprising that the day performance is called an offering which is the purest material form thought to exist. For the performance represents a more complete vision in which the world of illusion is felt to be transcended.

Conclusion

The general theme of this thesis has been the iconography of the puppets. As we have seen, it provides a system for portraying ideas based partly on the texts and partly on the oral tradition. It has been noted, however, that the iconography may emphasize different attributes from the stories and further that the Balinese may also on occasions reinterpret the iconography to fit prevailing views about a puppet's character. So the relation of text or story and iconography is complex and subtle. The ideas and values expressed by the puppets, is as significant to the Balinese as their visual form, and so this dimension cannot be ignored. It is with this in mind that I have tried to look at both the details of the puppets, for example the headdresses, eyes or body colours, as well as important individual figures. The relevance of folk beliefs became particularly clear with the servants who are in many ways the main characters in the shadow play.

Certainly it is possible that a given feature may come to have a different interpretation attached to it over time, or that its meaning may be lost. Yet, the system of beliefs expressed by the iconography of a puppet collection seems to be fairly stable; they are also widely shared. Several reasons seem to account for this. First, the puppets are almost completely standardized across collections. Second, the literary background of the shadow play ensures a continuity of the tradition. Third, there are many performances held frequently in most parts of the island, so that the humblest of villagers and children are able to watch the plays. Finally it is the art form most revered and other arts, like the masked dance, opera, and reliefs, follow similar principles.

It is however only in the performance that the puppets are presented as part of a complex set of other dramatic elements which include movement, voice and speech, music and plot. The rest of the time, the figures are kept in the puppet-chest out of sight of the public. While it is evident that the dalang is allowed a certain degree of creativity in the play, he is always constrained by the texts which form the basis of the plots and the puppets which hold him to a definite framework. The text and the iconography support and elaborate one another. So it is only on the stage that the values of the puppets are revealed and can be reviewed. For it is here that they are communicated to either the gods or men.

Notes:

1. The dalang's status as a ritually marginal person, who represents a link between the world of men and gods and who is a repository of traditional knowledge, can in some ways be compared to that of the rainmaker among the Lugbara of Uganda (Middleton, 1978, 382-4).

2. There is some variation in the puppets which a dalang may set up in the banana stem for a Sudamala ceremony, but always ones considered important are chosen. For example, in another ceremony which I did not witness, but which was described to me, the dalang used the following puppets: the Kakayonan, Tunggal, Siwa, Durga, Bima, Tualèn and Merdah. The Kakayonan and Tunggal were placed together in the centre of the stem to represent the god Siwa.

3. I Ewer pointed out that he chose Bayu to represent Brahma because of the relationship between them: Brahma was the creator; he first created bayu, wind or energy, which enabled there to be life.

4. It is said to be only appropriate of a dalang when on the stage and moving the puppets.

5. Heine-Geldern (1943,15-27) drew attention to the significance of the centre of the kingdoms in South East Asia; here the king is identified with axis of the universe. This idea he suggested is, for example, expressed by the title Paku Buwono,"Nail of the World," of the Susuhanan of Solo in Java. In Bali, this is somewhat more complex, for sacredness is attributed to both kaja, 'to the mountains' (the most holy of which is Gunung Agung, which is regarded as the 'navel' of the world) and kangin, east. On the significance of direction, see Chapter 5.

6. Anderson argues that this reversal expresses "the ambiguous interconnections of human existence... by the irony that left and right are not absolute" (1965, 6).

7. According to Pischel, already in the 1st century BC. in India, the shadow play referred to the illusory nature of the world. This is evident in the old Pali canon, the Buddhist Therigata (see Holt, 1967, 129).

8. Kawi which is the language of the sacred texts is held in high regard; hence it is not appropriate for ogres.

9. The batèl is not dealt with here for it merely supplies a rhythmic background to the gendèr music (McPhee,1966, 201-2).

10. This dialogue is also included as it shows how the speeches of the satriya in Kawi are related to those of the servants in colloquial Balinese. I did not make a systematic study of Kawi, but concentrated on Balinese which is after all the language most of the audience speak. Hinzler (1975, 37-7) gives the dialogue in Dutch. I have translated it into English in the text.

11. Bodily elevation indicates high status, see Chapter 3.

12. Hooykaas, in a letter, pointed out that tri-kaya-parisuddha is a well known term which can also be found in the text as Om Ah Hum.

My dalang, however, he adds must have meant kāya-vāk-citta (S) which in Balinese is translated as bayu-sabda-idep.

13. Weck (1937, 6) points out that palm-leaf manuscripts on medical matters are divided into two main groups: the usada which deal with drugs and recipes for illnesses; and the tutur which contain teaching and commentaries.

14. In van der Tuuk (1897) catur asrama refers to the four stages of a brahmana: apprenticeship, married life, hermit's life and complete detachment. This text was not known to Dr. Hooykaas. In a letter he pointed out it did not exist in the Kirtya, the Leiden collection or his own collection.

15. This version of the poem was chanted during the performance, I translated it together with I Ewer, keeping as close as possible to his original.

16. I Ewer referred to the craftsman of the gods as Wiswakarma. This is the name for the architect of the gods in the texts. In Chapter 3 on craftsmanship, I Raos summoned Siwakarma before making puppets.

17. In the day performance the dalang is not restricted in his choice of which puppets to stick into the banana stem. Generally, though the Kakayonan, Tunggal and Tualèn are used. (Tualèn is then one of the puppets the dalang moves while narrating.) The other puppets seem to depend primarily on the story told. The dalang also need not bring out characters from both camps; only one side may be required for a specific story. Anything from five to thirteen puppets may be stuck into the stem.

18. This is in the original: jèn tingkah i temulilingan ten ia marenmaren ngisep kemiyikan sekar; jèn tingkah i beduda lemah peteng sing engsap-engsap ngisep bengun ia i tahi laut mekepu; kèto tingkahe jelé melah.

19. Mangkunagara VII (1957,16) suggests that the central goal of Arjuna in the story Arjuna Wiwaha is "invisible power" for controlling the world. Arjuna achieves this through the practice semadi or meditation.

Appendix 1

The myth of the origin of Drupadi and the five Pandawa brothers

This takes place some time ago while Yama is making a sacrifice in the forest Naimisa in heaven. Earth is similar to heaven. There is peace and men do not become ill and die. The gods, however, are displeased as no difference is apparent between heaven and earth. Indra confronts Brahma and asks him why men do not suffer. Brahma tells him not to worry; once Yama finishes his sacrifice, men would grow old and die. The gods are happy to hear this and return with their wives to their respective homes.

Indra is wandering along the river Ganges. Suddenly he sees golden lotuses drifting in the water. These surprise him and he follows them to their source. They lead him to a weeping girl. It is her tears, as they drop into the river, which become lotuses. Indra asks her to whom she is married and why she is weeping. She replies that she is Sri, the wife of Wisnu. She is miserable as she has seen a couple on the peak of a mountain making love to one another and she is jealous of them. Sri asks Indra to have pity on her and to strike the couple with his weapon, the thunderbolt. Indra agrees to help her and accompanies her to the mountain.

The couple are Siwa and his wife, Uma, who have taken on human form. The moment that Indra tries to strike them, he is unable to move. He then becomes one with the mountain which divides into five parts, pañca-indera. Each part emits the same amount of light. Siwa then orders each part to incarnate into a human; each is to be married on earth to

Drupadi, who is an incarnation of Sri. In this way Siwa sentences Indra for his misconduct.

Having received his sentence, Indra goes to Wisnu and asks him to accompany him to earth so that he should have a friend there. It is because of these events that Baladéwa and Kresna, who eventually controls the Yadu family, are born. Baladéwa's body is white and Kresna's black. At the same time the pañca-indera are incarnated as the five Pandawa brothers, whose genitors are Darma, Bayu, Indra and the Aswins, and Sri is incarnated as Drupadi.

(read out in the original and then translated in short sections by dalang Ewer from his palm-leaf manuscript of the Adiparwa; the myth corresponds closely to the one found in Widyatmanta, 1958, Adiparwa II, 88-90).

Appendix 2.

How status is demonstrated in the language used in the shadow play is best shown by a few examples. For this purpose the following three words have been selected: I, you and eat. These are particularly sensitive to difference in social relationships. It is here illustrated how the terms change according to the status of the individual spoken to. 'Eat' has a referential, singgih, and deferential, sor, form. These are included as are the titles and kin terms by which the servants may address the others.

Servants to gods:

1.	self	titiyang	
2.	you	(no form used)	
	titles:	ratu batara	(lord god)
3.	I eat	nunas	
	you eat	ngaksi	

Servants to high castes:

1.	self	(high rank satriya)	titiyang	
		(low rank satriya & wèsya)	tiang	
2.	you		ida	
	titles:	(brahmana)	cokor i ratu	(at the foot of the lord)
		(brahmana priest)	ratu padanda	(lord priest)
		(high rank satriya)	cokor i dewa	(at the foot of the god)
			cokor aji	(father cokorda)
			dewa agung gedé	(great, supreme god)
			ratu dewa agung	(great supreme lord)
			ratna diyah	(royal princess)
		(prime minister of wèsya rank)	i gusti patih	(prime minister)
3.	I eat		nunas	
	you eat		miunan, merayunan	

servants to one another

1.	self	cang	
2.	you	cai (M), nyai (F)	
	kin names:	bli	(elder brother)
		mbok	(elder sister)
		bapa	(father)
		nang.ng	(father; Merdah to Tualèn)
		nani	(child; Tualèn to Merdah)
3.	I eat	medaar, ngalih nasi	
	you eat	medaar, ngalih nasi	

servants to ogres and undressed animals and birds:

1.	self	kai
2.	you	iba
3.	I eat	medaar
	you eat	ngamah

high castes to servants

1.	self	cang
2.	you	cai (M), nyai (F)
3.	I eat	miunan, ngajengan
	You eat	medaar, nunas

These examples give an indication of the complexity of the Balinese language used in the drama. The levels correspond with those used in life. The full range of levels spoken by the people, for example, those used between satriya, or satriya and brahmana, are, however, not included here as they do not apply to wayang. Although there is more variation in the use of non-critical terms than is shown above, these three key words provide a clear framework within which the language operates.

Appendix 3.

The night performance, wayang peteng

The activities of the dalang I Ewer described here took place before and after a night performance which I observed. I Ewer's explanation of them are given in condensed form (see also Chapter 9, where I elaborate on the significance of some of the more important rites and mantra). The reader is referred to Appendex 4 for the mantra, the appropriate one being specified by number.

At the home of I Ewer before the performance

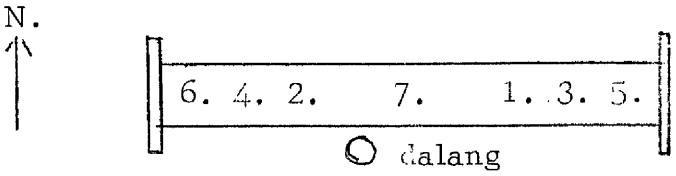
1.	mebanten (giving offerings):	On the day before the show, members of the sponsor's family brought I Ewer the following offerings: peras, ajengan, santun and canang lenga wangi. Ewer placed these on the Taksu, the special shrine in a dalang's household temple dedicated to Iswara. Iswara acts as a mediator between the dalang and the gods.
2.	mebanten (giving offerings):	On the day of the show, I Ewer placed the offering, 11 canang, in an unspecified pavilion, facing either 'to the mountain', kaja, or east.
3.	dalang nganggé wastra (the dalang dresses for the show)	The dalang put on his headgear, dastar, waist cloth, kampuh, and dress, wastra. These three item I Ewer said represent the three worlds, heaven, earth and underworld.
4.	memantra (reciting mantra):	The dalang recited the mantra masikepan (Appendix 4:1). While reciting this mantra, I Ewer chewed a special form of betel nut called lekesan. This betel nut, together with its contents, symbolizes the kanda mpat, the four mystic siblings of the dalang who protect him while performing. (for a more complete description of this, see Hooykaas, 1974, 118-9). I Ewer then recited the mantra of the Darma Pawayangan (Appendix 4:2) followed by the mantra pengraksa jiwa (Appendix 4:3).
5.	memantra (reciting mantra):	Before departing for the performance, while standing at his gate, I Ewer recited the mantra (Appendix 4:4) to the trinity. He requested the gods to protect him from all enemies, in particular witches and demons, who could attack him on the way to the sponsor's house.

At the house of the sponsor before the performance

6.	memantra (reciting mantra):	Having just arrived, I Ewer seated himself with his sponsor in a pavilion. Here he recited the mantra to the god of love, Kama Jaya (Appendix 4:5). Thereby he desired those present to believe that the god of love had arrived. At this stage I Ewer also tested his breath in order to see which god would enter him and communicate through him while narrating. He exhaled onto his hand: stronger breath from the right nostril meant Brahma would perform; stronger breath from the left nostril that Wisnu would perform; equally strong breath from both indicated that Iswara would perform (see Hooykaas, 1973a, 31; 22).
7.	dalang menèk ring panggung (dalang installs himself in the booth):	I Ewer, his two assistants and four musicians installed themselves in the booth.
8.	ngenahang banten (placing of offerings):	Offerings, made by the sponsor's family, were brought and placed to the right in front of the dalang. These consisted of: peras, ajengan, santun, tebus, sesarik (a chain of kèpèng) and ajuman. Seven incense sticks were then put on the offerings.
9.	meketis* (sprinkling with holy water):	I Ewer sprinkled the offerings with fresh water, yèh anyar, explaining that thereby he purified the stage.
10.	memantra (reciting mantra):	He recited the three mantra, in the following order: mantra pangègèr (Appendix 4:6), mantra pangalup (Appendix 4:7) and mantra pangaduh (Appendix 4:8).
11.	ngeplakin keropak (knocking the puppet-chest):	While reciting the mantra pangurip wayang (Appendix 4:9), I Ewer knocked three times on the top of the closed puppet-chest 'to wake up' the god of the puppets.
12.	ngungkabang keropak (opening the puppet-chest):	The puppet chest was opened. While knocking the chest with the left hand (so that the right one was free to take the Kakayonan, see the next stage), I Ewer recited the mantra pasupati (Appendix 4:10).
13.	sesolahan Kakayonan (dancing of the Kakayonan):	I Ewer took the Kakayonan, the uppermost puppet in the chest, and waved it in front of the screen. At this point the musicians began to play, commencing with the long prelude, the Pemungkah. While continuing to wave the Kakayonan, I Ewer recited the mantra Kakayonan (Appendix 4:11).

14. ngesisiyang wayang (puppets)

Major puppets were then stuck into the main stem to to the right and left of the dalang in the main stem according to whether they belong to the Pandawa or Korawa side; they had no special relevance to the myth about to be told. Their order was fixed (and is the same for all night performances) see Table I. (The order is almost identical to the one given by McPhee, 1970, 192.)



2. Ludramurti 7. Kakayonan 1. Wisnumurti
4. Sungsang 3. Tunggal
6. Durga 5. Siwa

Table 1

After the seven above puppets were stuck into the banana stem, I Ewer took out all the other puppets from the chest. Of these about ten further puppets were chosen because of their relevance to the story, and also placed in the main stem. All the other figures were installed in the side stems, closely packed together either to the right or left of the dalang.

15. sesolahan Kakayonan (dancing of the Kakayonan):

All the puppets were removed from the main stem and placed behind the other ones in the side stems. I Ewer then flourished the Kakayonan and afterwards installed it in the side stem to his right.

16. nyerita (narrating):

First I Ewer beat the side of the puppet-chest rapidly with his gavel, which was held between the toes of his right foot. He then started to narrate.

After the performance

17. memantra (reciting mantra):

After the play, the puppets were put back into the puppet-chest, the Kakayonan being the last. At the same time I Ewer requested the gods of the nawa-sanga and Bayu to bring back to life those characters who had been killed on the stage. He then recited the mantra penyimpan wayang (Appendix 4:12) so that the god of the puppets would 'sleep well'.

18.	mebanten (giving offerings)	The sponsor's family brought I Ewer offerings and other ritual items, and placed these on the stage. The offerings consisted of: suci asoroh, 1 peras santun (for the stage and equipment) and 1 peras santun (for the instruments, gender). The ritual items comprised fresh water, yeh anyar, local spirit, or arrak, palm wine, tuak, and white rice wine, berem putih, and penastahan (?).
19.	meketis* (sprinkling holy water):	I Ewer sprinkled the offerings with fresh water.
20.	ngemnok kuku rambut ayam (removing limbs from the chicken):	I Ewer took the cooked chicken in the offering peras santun and removed its wings and legs, which he placed in a ritual bowl. He also took rice from one of the bigger offerings and threw it on top of the puppet-chest. I Ewer explained that the chicken limbs and rice were for the demons, buta, to appease them.
25.	metetaboh	The fresh water, arrak, palm wine and rice wine were then poured over the main banana stem, also to appease the demons.
26.	ngelebarang (ritual wafting):	The following offerings were taken from the suci asoroh: peras tulung, sorohan cenik and segahan. These were placed in front of the dalang. I Ewer once more sprinkled them with fresh water and recited a mantra (no specific one was mentioned), while wafting the essence of the offerings to the gods.

The day performance, wayang lemah

The activities of the dalang I Badra here described took place before and after the day performance at the temple of the dead in Pisangkaja during its anniversay. As for the night performance, the reader is referred to Appendix 4 for the mantra. the appropriate one being specified by number.

At the home of I Badra before the performance

1. dalang nganggé wastra (the dalang dresses): I Badra dressed himself for the performance. He put on his headgear, waist cloth and dress.

In the temple before the performance

2. dalang mungguh (the dalang installs himself): The dalang and two musicians installed themselves in front of the main banana stem and instruments respectively.

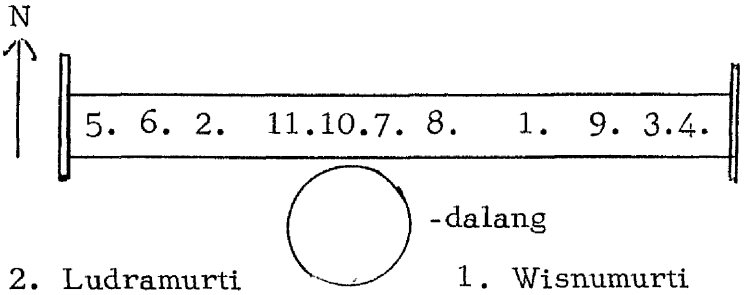
3. ngenahang banten (placing of offerings): The offering called santun pengupak was placed on the floor, to the right of the dalang.

4. meketis* (sprinkling with holy water): I Badra sprinkled the offering with fresh water, yèh anyar.

5. memantra (reciting mantra): I Badra recited the mantra Kakayonan (Appendix 4:11), pointing out that this mantra was the only one required before the day performance.

6. ngeplakin keropak (knocking on the puppet-chest): He knocked the lid of the chest three times in order 'to wake up' the puppets and opened the chest.

7. ngesisiyang wayang (puppets) The dalang stuck eleven puppets into the banana stem. Their position and order in which they were placed are shown in Table II.



2. Ludramurti
5. Sungsang
6. Durga
7. Bisma
10. Dèlem
11. Sangut

1. Wisnumurti
3. Tunggal
4. Siwa
8. Kresna
9. Arjuna

Table II.

Tualèn and Merdah were leant against the stem with the tips of their handles on the ground. They were the two main characters to talk during the play. I Badra explained that he always stuck Wisnumurti, Ludramurti, Tunggal, Siwa, Sungsung and Durga into the banana stem for all day performances based on the parwa cycle as they were the figures in a collection with the highest status. The other puppets used depended on the myth narrated and were not fixed. (At least two servants were also required but which ones, apart from Tualèn, was unspecified). The puppets placed in the stem remained there during the entire performance.

8. sesolahan Kakayonan (dancing of the Kakayonan): The Kakayonan was then waved in the centre over the banana stem.

9. nyerita (narrating): I Badra then began to narrate.

After the performance

10. mebanten (giving offerings): The puppets were put back into the chest, with the Kakayonan on top, and the chest was closed. Offerings and other ritual items were brought and placed near the dalang. (These had been made by the hamlet.) They included: suci asoroh, peras santun, segahan, peras tulang, nasi kepelan 1 tanding and a chain of kèpèng coins called pis janan, also considered an offering. Rp.280, Rp.125, Rp.250 and Rp.125 were laid on the first four offerings respectively. The money and offerings were for the dalang and musicians and would later be divided between them. (Additionally, they were given Rp.540 after the show.)

The ritual items comprised a bowl of fresh water, yèh anyar, arrak, palm wine, tuak, rice wine, berem and penastahan (?).

11. meketis* (sprinkling with holy water): I Badra sprinkled fresh water over the offerings

12. memantra (reciting mantra); He recited a mantra. No specific one was mentioned to me.

13. megat benang (tearing the string): I Badra tore the string between the dapdap branches. He explained the reason for this as follows: before the show he concentrated, so that the two demons, Préta and Wirata (cf. Hooykaas, C. 1974, 119) would enter the string as they helped him bring forth the anger neccessary for part of the myth. After the play the string was torn to indicate that the two demons should now depart peacefully.

14. metataboh see stage 25, the night performance.

15. ngelebarang see stage 26, the night performance.

* This is performed three times: meketis ping telu

Appendix 4

The mantra for a performance cited to me by the dalang I Éwer. A rough English translation follows after each one. The mantra do not for the most part differ substantially from those in Hooykaas's Kala and Kama (1973a) and the reader is referred to these which are indicated, where possible, by page and paragraph.

1a. mantra pasikepan (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a. 51;61)

Inggih Ratu Paduka Sang Hyang Tunggal,
Mangda Ratu micayang guna kesamaran,
buta, léyak, asih,
Manusa asih,
Déwa, Batara asih,
Saliwiring sané di jagaté tuur mebakti,
Mawinan liyang ia mekaad.
AM AH.

b. Yes, Sang Hyang Tunggal,
Grant me magical power,
(So that) demons and witches are happy
(So that) the people are happy,
(So that) the gods are happy,
All which exists in the world by happy and worship,
And so depart in happiness.
(Sky and earth .)

2. mantra of the Darma Pawayangan (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a. 61;87)

Inggih Ratu Sang Pañca Pandawa melinggih ring akasa,
Nakula, Sahadéwa melinggih takepan kalih,
Arjuna ring lontar,
Darma-tanaya ring lontar sastra,
Bima ring tali
Ngaryanin kukuh
Ida lédang ngicalang saliwring ané mawisésa/ngengkalèn.
AM UM MAM UM OM.

b. Yes, Sang Pañca Pandawa who live in heaven,
Nakula (and) Sahedewa who are in the front and back cover (of the palm-leaf manuscript),
Arjuna who is in (the pages) of the palm-leaf manuscript,
Darma-tanaya who is the literature (the written word),
Bima who is the string (of the manuscript),
and makes it strong,
Remove all that is dangerous.
AM UM MAM UM OM.

3a. mantra pengraksa jiwa

Inggih Sang Hyang Siwa ngeraksa manah titiyang,
Sang Hyang Wisnu ngeraksa bayun titiyang,
Mangda titiyang nènten kalahang musuh,
Soroh kala ané pedih mangda ten durus ipun pedih,
Sarwa senjata nenten ngenèn ané galak-galak,
Nengil ipun pules.
Jeng, AH.

b. Yes, Sang Hyang Siwa who protects my thoughts,
Sang Hyang Wisnu who protects my energy,
(May) my enemies not harm me,
(May) all demons, kala, refrain from becoming angry,
(May) no weapons damage me,
Stay quiet, sleep,
(May all that could harm me depart).

4a. mantra (while standing at the gate, angkul-ankul)
Ratu Batara Wisnu palungguh Batara - jaga musuh titiyang,
Kalahang musuh titiyang kahonang sami.
Ratu Batara Brahma palungguh Batara
Jaga musuh titiyang,
Kalahang musuh titiyang kahonang sami.
Ratu Batara Iswara palungguh Batara - jaga musuh titiyang
kalahang musuh titiyang kahonang sami.

b. Wisnu who protects (me) from my enemies,
Defeat my enemies, defeat them all,
Brahma who protects (me) from my enemies,
Defeat my enemies, defeat them all,
Iswara who protects (me) from my enemies,
Defeat my enemies, defeat them all.

5a. mantra (said in the house of the sponsor; cf. Hooykaas, 1973a, 31;22)
Om. Ratu Sang Hyang Kama Jaya sampun rauh.

b. Om. Kama Jaya (Semara) has arrived.

6a. mantra panggègèr (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a, 39;34)

Inggih Ratu Sang Hyang Tiga Wisésa
Amasang guna gègèr,
Anak muwani gègèr,
Anak luh gègèr,
Anak banci gègèr,
Mepunduh ring arapan titiyang,
Mangda teleb ipun ngerungu ring titiyang,
Pawakan titiyang Sang Hyang Semara,
Med ipun ngaksinin Sang Hyang Semara,
Med ipun ngaksinin titiyang.
Apang ia neket demene (ping tiga).
am um mam.

b. Yes, I am god trinity
who possess guna,
Attract men,
Attract women,
Attract transvestites,
(So that) they gather in front of me,
To listen attentively to me,
My body is Sang Hyang Semara,
(If) they (the spectators) are bored on looking at
Sang Hyang Semara,
They will be bored watching me.
May their happiness not flag (repeated three times).
AM UM MAM.

7a. mantra pangalup (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a 41;37)

Titiyang nunas mangda Ida Sang Hyang Semara Ratih tedun,
Munyin titiyang sat manik sakecap manah manusané makejang
Tresna kapiwelasan apang tongosang di hati,
Jèn sakèng buduh sanget kenehné apang tongosang di nyali,
Demené bas sanget apang tongsosang di pepusuh,
Asing rauh makejang demen.

b. I, request that Sang Hyang Semara Ratih descend to the world,
(May) my voice be like 'a jewel' (see Hooykaas, J, 1959 on manik sekecap as a yantra),(may) all men's thoughts
be love and compassion, and placed in the liver,
If their thoughts are (as if) madly in love, may this be placed in the gall.
(may) their happiness be so great that it may be placed in the lungs.
May each who comes feel happy.

8. mantra pangaduh (cf.Hooykaas, 1973a, 33;25).

Titiyang nunas mangda Sang Hyang Semara tedun ke jagaté,
Pacang seneng keneh manusané makejang,
Sira ja ngerungu, asing nyingakin,
Munyin titiyang cara titiyang ngewayang, teka meled, manah iané demen,
Medeket nekilit teka demen.

b. I request that Sang Hyang Semara descent to the world,
So that all men are happy,
Each who listens, each who watches,
(May) my voice and my performance, bring happiness and make men's thoughts happy,
So that they are happy and not bored,
May their happiness not flag.

9a. mantra pangurip wayang (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a. 45;46)

Metangi Sang Hyang Ringgit mesolah,
Batara Brahma Ratu nguripang
Wayang mangda nyak mecaya.

b. Wake up Sang Hyang Ringgit and dance,
Brahma give them life,
So that the puppets will glow.

10. mantra pasupati (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a. 45;44)

(Èwer recited this mantra in garbled Kawi. He said that he know its exact meaning. Essentially it was to Siwa or Pasupati and had three main purposes: to request Siwa to protect him; to request Siwa to enter the puppets; and to ensure that the spectators believed the dalang while he narrated the myth.)

11a. mantra Kakayonan (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a. 33;25)

Sambu mulih ring Wisnu,
Wisnu mulih ring Sangkara,
Sangkara mulih ring Mahadéwa,
Mahadéwa mulih ring Rudra,
Rudra mulih ring Brahma,
Brahma mulih ring Mahèswara,
Mahèswara mulih ring Iswara,
Iswara mulih ring Kakayonan.

b. (Through the concentration of the dalang)
Sambu returns to Wisnu,
Wisnu returns to Sangkara,
Sangkara returns to Mahadéwa,
Mahadéwa returns Rudra,
Rudra returns to Brahma,
Brahma returns to Maheswara,
Mahèswara returns to Iswara,
Iswara returns to the Kakayonan.

12a. mantra penyimpan wayang (cf. Hooykaas, 1973a. 45;47)

Inggih Ratu Sang Hyang Ringgit mekolem mangkin becik.

b. Yes, Sang Hyang Ringgit sleep well now.

Appendix 5

These are charts of the main fixed features of the puppets of three collections:

Peliatan collection
I Ewer's collection
I Badra's collection

These consist of matrices of the characteristics of the Pandawas, Korawas and other puppets. A separate chart with the main features of the servants is also included. For a translation of the terms, see Chapter 5 and 7. For a decription of the features, see Chapter 4 and 7.

List of abbreviations

b. biasa
c. mecingcingan
l. melancingan
g. ngelèbèr
P. Penyurianin

Notes

1. This is the standard pepudakan with a peak rising from the back of the head.

2. These are variant forms of pepudakan with additional scrolls or the peak may be very small.

3. This is the standard form of gelung pusung with a coil at the nape.

4. The varient form of gelung pusung is distinguished by a scallop-shaped protuberance rising up from the nape.

5. The dress is swept up between the legs, part falling over one leg.

6. The dress is swept up between the legs, part falling behind one leg as a loop.

7. The dress is swept up between the legs; the back leg is, however, covered by a tubular cloak.

8. The Balinese do not distinguish terminologically bangles, armlets, and anklets. They are all called gelang kana. They are classified here, however, by where they are worn and major differences in shape are indicated.

9. In this posture the head and legs are in profile while the shoulders are turned to the front.

10. Only the head is in profile. The rest of the body is full-face.

11. These are different gestures from those referred to as specific mudra. No names are given to them.

12. These are variant stances from the standard ones seen. Apart from the stance of Tunggal, they are umgainly with the legs spread out inelegantly.

13. The body hair can not always be seen on I Badra's puppets as their colour has become dark with use.

14. In the case of the servants, the flower is said to bean hibiscus.

15. The eye shapes of Tualèn, Merdah and Sangut are not referred to by definite Balinese terms as my informants differ somewhat in their description of them.

16. Cunguh gedé is a complicated category as there are many variations in nose shapes. Generally noses have been classified as langsing, delicate, ageng, big, and gedé meaning very big. In the case of the servants, however, the strikingly idiosyncratic shapes of the noses have been recorded.

17. Tualen and Merdah have essentially no necks. The majority of ogres are also stumpy, but conceptionally they still have some type of neck.

18. This is a large, clearly depicted navel. A few of the ogres, with small pot-bellies as, for instance, Suratma also have navels, but these are less pronounced.

19. The entire body is in profile, and so the shoulder is also turned to the side.

20. Unlike all the characters who have both arms free, the servants may have each of their hands in a different position.

| PANDAWA | | Headdress | | | | | | | | Dress | | | | | | | |

KORAWA

Heavenly beings:

	Height (cm.)
Brahma	47
Durga	43

Korawa men:

	Height (cm.)
Bisma	47
Drona	42
Krepa	44
Aswatama	37
Cedi	45
Pratipa	47
Satrumtapa	40½
Jarasanda	45
Duryodana	43
Duresasana	42
Durmug	43
Serutasena	40½
Jayawikata	40½
Jayadrata	39
Karna	42
Salya	?
(Ludramurti)	63½
Sakuni	37½
Lesmana Kumara	39
Beloidya	38

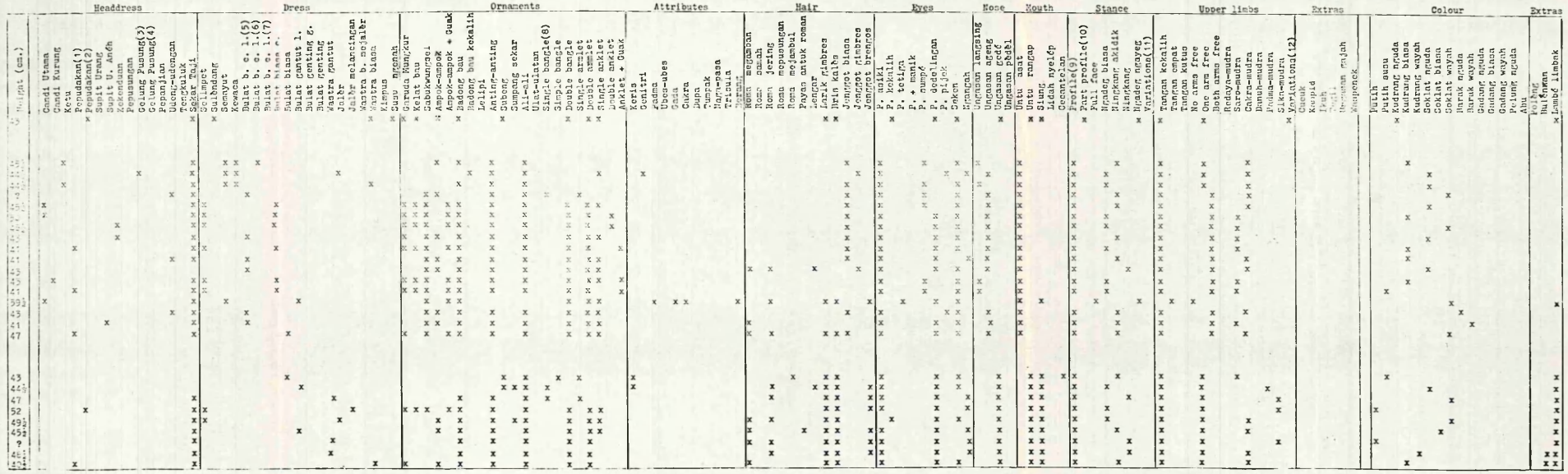
Raksasa:

	Height (cm.)
Suratma	40½
Jogor Manik	?
Gundul	45½
Prahasta	51
Sukasarana	45½
Jambumali	48
Kempana	50
Prajangga	47
Dumraksa	48
Dimbi	39

| | Height (cm.) | Headdress: Candi Utama | Candi Kurung | Kelu | Pundakan(1) | Pundakan(2) | Supit Urang | Supit U. Andh | Kekenduan | Pepusungan | Gelung Pusung | Pepanjan | Udeng-udengan | Tengkulik | Sekar anjl | Dress: Sinjang | Sulendang | Semayut | Kewaca | Buiat b. c. 1.(5) | Buiat b. c. 1.(6) | Buiat biasa c. | Buiat biasa | Buiat gantut l. | Buiat gantung g. | Buiat gantung s. | Wastra gantut | Jalbr | Jalbr melancingan | Wastra b. mejalbr | Wastra biasa | Kimpus | Susu ngemah | Ornaments: Garuda Mungkur | Kelat bau | Sabukwungsel | Ampok-ampok + Guak | Ampok-ampok | Badong bau | Badong bau kekalih | Lelipi | Anting-anting | Subeng | Sumpang sekar | Ali-ali | Plat-ulatan | Single bangle(8) | Single bangle | Double bangle | Single armlet | Snake armlet | Double armlet | Single anklet | Double anklet | Anklet + Guak | Attributes: Keris | Genitri | Padma | Ubeb-ubeb | Gada | Cupu | Canggah | Tumpak | Naga pasu | Trisula | Berang | Hair: Roma megamban | Roma samah | Roma jering | Roma mepusungan | Roma mejambul | Roma untuk roman | Lengar | Lank gimbres | Bris kalba | Jenggot biasa | Jenggot gimbres | Jenggot brengos | Eyes: P. asiki | P. kekalih | P. tetiga | P. nanik | P. sumpd | P. dedelingan | P. pijek | Seken | Meanpah | Nose: Ungaran langsang | Ungaran ageng | Ungaran gedd | Ungaran pbbl. | Mouth: Untu sast | Untu rangap | Sinta | Lidah nyelép | Gecantelan | Stance: Profile(9) | Part profile(10) | Full face | Ngadeg biasa | Ningkang akidik | Ningkang | Ngadeg sayeg | Variation(11) | Upper limbs: Tangan kekalih | Tangan empat | Tangan adasa | No arms free | One arm free | Both arms free | Rekaya-mudra | Saro-mudra | Cakra-mudra | Danuh-mudra | Pasopati-mudra | Sika-mudra | Extras: Cucuk | Kampid | Ikuh | Tegil | Ungaran gajah | Wanpenek | Colour: Putih | Putih sunu | Kudrang nguda | Kudrang biasa | Kudrang wayah | Soklat nguda | Soklat biasa | Soklat wayah | Hanak wayah | Tangi nguda | Tangi biasa | Gadang nguda | Gadang biasa | Gadang wayah | Gadang malokan s. | Kedaton d. nguda | Kedaton d. biasa | Kedapan d. wayah | Kedapan d. biasa | Pelung nguda | Extras: Shoulder covering | Polbog | Kulit mebulu | Bulu ayam | Lamé limbak | Ornawis |
|---|---|---

COLLECTION: I WAYAN ✓KER

| PANDAWA: | height (cm.) | Headdress: Candi Utama | Candi Kurung | Keris | Pepudakan(1) | Pepudakan(2) | Supit Urang | Supit U. Anäh | Kekendaan | Pepusungan | Gelung Pusung(3) | Gelung Pusung(4) | Pepanjian | Udeng-udengan | Tengkuluk | Sekar Taji | Dress: Sulimpet | Sulendang | Kewasa | Semayut | Bulat b. c. l.(5) | Bulat b. c. l.(6) | Bulat b. c. l.(7) | Bulat blasa c. | Bulat blasa | Bulat Gantut l. | Bulat Gentrung | Bulat Gentrung K. | Wastra gantut | Jalar | Jalar melancingan | Wastra b. mejalar | Wastra blasa | Kimpus | Suau ageman | Qurada Mungkur | Kelat bau | Sabukwunggel | Ampok-ampok | Badong bau | Ampok-ampok + Guak | Badong bau kekalik | Anklung-antlung | Lelipi | Sumpang sekar | Subeng | Ulat-ulatan | Alit-alit | Qrnamente: Single bangle(8) | Single bangle | Double bangle | Single armlet | Double armlet | Single anklet | Double anklet | Anklet + Guak | Keris | Genitri | Padma | Ubeng-ubeng | Attributes: Gada | Dupa | Cakra | Tumpak | Naga-pasa | Pedang | Trisula | Roma megambar | Roma saman | Roma jertng | Roma mepuemgan | Roma mejambul | Payas anluk roman | Lengar | Hair: Garik Gimbres | Bria kalba | Jangot blasa | Jangot Gimbres | Jangot prengos | P. asikt | P. kekalih | P. + manik | P. bettga | P. swuge | P. dedelingan | P. pljek | Seken | Kgan/ah | Eyes | Ungaan langating | Ungaan agung | Ungaan gedé | Ungaan pédél | Nose | Untu aset | Untu rangap | Slung | Lidah nyelap | Geonteban | Mouth | Profile(9) | Pull face | Part profile(10) | Mgade blasa | Mkangkang akidik | Mkangkang | Mgade ngawet | Variations(11) | Tangan kekalih | Tangan kutus | No arms free | One arm free | Both arms free | Kedaya-mudra | Saro-mudra | Dakra-mudra | Danuh-mudra | Padma-mudra | Sika-mudra | Variations(12) | Ducuk | Kampid | Jkun | Pelit | Bungaan Gajah | Waspenek | Extras | Putih | Putih susu | Kudrang ngudu | Kudrang blasa | Kudrang wayan | Sokiat blasa | Sokiat ngudu | Sokiat wayan | Barak ngudu | Barak wayan | Gadang ngudu | Gadang blasa | Gadang wayan | Abu | Pelung ngudu | Colour | Extras | Polang | Bulkman | Lambé Ilmbak |
|---|---|---


KORAVA
Heavenly beings:
Durga
Korawa men:
Bisma
Drona
Krépa
Aswatama
Odii
Pratipa
Jarasanda
Satruntapa
Duryodana
Durasasana
Durming
Karna
Salya
(Ludramurti)
Sakuni
Lesmana Kumara
Belodya
Raksasa:
Suratma
Gundul
Karica
Prahasta
Sukasarana
Jamburali
Kempana
Prajangga
Dimbi
Headdress
Dress
Ornaments
Attributes
Hair
Eyes
Nose
Mouth
Stance
Upper limbs
Extras
Colour
Extras

| | Height (cm.) | Headdress: Gandi Utama | Gandi Kurung | Keta | Tepudakan(1) | Tepudakan(2) | Sapit Urang | Sapit U. Anéh | Kekondaan | Pepusungan | Pepusungan(3) | Gelung Pusung(4) | Pepanjalan | Udeng-udengan | Rengkuluk | Sekar Taji | Dress: Sellimpet | Sulendang | Sesayut | Kewara | Bulat b. c. 1.(5) | Bulat b. c. 1.(6) | Bulat b. c. 1.(7) | Bulat biasa c. | Bulat biasa | Bulat gantut l. | Bulat gantut g. | Bulat genting | Bulat genting g. | Wastra gantut | Wastra melancingan | Jalbr | Jalbr melancingan | Wastra b. mejalbr | Wastra biasa | Kampuh | Sinjang | Garuda Nungkur | Kelat bau | Sabukwungsel | Ampok-ampok | Ampok-ampok + Guak | Badong bau | Badong bau kekalih | Lelipi | Anting-anting | Subeng | Sumpang sekar | Ali-ali | Tali-tatan | Single bangle(8) | Single bangle | Double bangle | Single amlet | Double amlet | Single anklet | Double anklet | Anklet + Guak | Attributes: Keris | Genitri | Padma | Utpala-bhoe | Gada | Cakra | Dupa | Tumpak | Mega-pasa | Parasu | Bajra | Hair: Rompé tergambar | Rompé samah | Rompé gering | Rompé sepusungan | Rompé masambul | Payas cantuk roman | Lengar | Jarik ginbres | Bris kalbe | Jenggot biasa | Jenggot ginbres | Jenggot grengos | Eyes: P. dadalih | P. kedira | P. + manik | P. sumé | P. dadelingan | P. pijak | Seken | Ngramah | Nose: Ungasan langsing | Ungasan ageng | Unrasan gedé | Ungasan pédél | Mouth: Untu rangap | Untu mas | Sidan nyelép | Cecanthan | Stance: Profile(9) | Part profile(10) | Full face | Ngrader biasa | Ningkang | Ngrader ngayeg | Variations(11) | Upper limbs: Tangan kekalih | Tangan empat | Tangan kutus | No arms free | One arm free | Both arms free | Gadaya-mudra | Sarva-mudra | Karana-mudra | Danuh-mudra | Padma-mudra | Sika-mudra | Variations(12) | Extras: Cucuk | Kamoid | Lawé | Tegil | Ungasan gajah | Wargenek | Colour: Putih | Putih suci | Putih nguda | Kuning biasa | Kuning nguda | Soklat wayah | Soklat biasa | Soklat nguda | Barak nguda | Barak wayah | Gadang nguda | Gadang biasa | Gadang wayah | Selung nguda | Abu | Poléng | Bulu tiron | Jambé limbak | Extras |
|---|---|---

| | | Headdress | | | | | | | | Dress | | | | | | | |

| | Height (cm.) | Headdress: Candi Utama | Candi Kurung | Kotu | Pepudakan(1) | Pepudakan(2) | Supit Urang | Supit U. Anch | Kekendian | Pepusungan | Gelung Pusung | Pepanjian | Udeng-udengan | Pengantuk | Sekar Taji | Dress: Selimpat | Sinjangan | Sewekul | Kewaka | Bulat b. c. l.(5) | Bulat b. c. l.(6) | Bulat biasa c. | Bulat biasa | Bulat gantut l. | Bulat ganting g. | Bulat ganting | Wastra gantut | Jalbar | Jalet melanolongan | Wastra b. megalor | Wastra biasa | Kipnus | Lengan nyeneh | Ornaments: Gandar Mungkur | Kelat bau | Sapokwungsel | Ampok-ampok | Ampok-ampok + Guak | Badong bau | Badong bau kekaih | Uclipi | Anting-anting | Subeng | Sumpang sekar | Ali-ali | Ulat-ulatan | Single bangle(6) | Single bangle | Double bangle | Double bangle | Double armlet | Double armlet | Single anklet | Double anklet | Anklet + Guak | Attributes: Keris | Genitri | Padma | Ubes-ubes | Gada | Cakra | Dupa | Canggah | Tampak | Wagi pasa | Trisula | Rosario | Hair: Rompa tangtahan | Roma sawah | Roma jagung | Roma mepusungan | Roma majambul | Payas artuk roman | Lengar | Rarik gimbres | Pris kalbs | Jenggot biasa | Jenggot gimbres | Sedekot brengos | Eyes: P. saikih | P. kokaih | P. teriga | P. + mata tik | P. + mata tik | P. dedelingan | P. pijak | Saken | Ngantah | Nose: Ungasan langsang | Ungasan agung | Ungasan gedé | Ungasan pudé | Ungasan bawi | Mouth: Untu asat | Untu rangap | Siung | Aidan nyelap | Sesantekan | Stance: Pat profile(0) | Pat profile(1) | Full face | Ngadeg biasa | Ngadeg biasa | Ngadeg nakidik | Ngadeg nakidik | Ngadeg | Ngadeg mayeg | Variations(11) | Upper limbs: Tangan kekaih | Tangan empat | Tangan adasa | No arms free | Uns arm free | Both arms free | Kedaya-mudra | Dero-mudra | Dero-mudra | Pasung-mudra | Pasung-mudra | Sika-mudra | Variations(12) | Karman bawi | Extras: Cucuk | Kampid | Ikuh | Tegil | Waspenek | Colour: Putih | Putih susu | Kuning nguda | Kuning biasa | Kuning wayah | Sokiat nguda | Sokiat wayah | Tanki | Tanki wayah | Peling nguda | Gadang biasa | Gadang wayah | Abu | Jolong | Kulit mebulu(13) | Bulu-bulu | Kambé limbak | Cerawis | Extras |
|---|---|---

COLLECTION: I WAYAN BADRA

| | Height (cm.) | Headdress: Candi Utama | Candi Kurung | Kota | Pepudakan(1) | Pepudakan(2) | Supit Urang | Supit U. Aneh | Kekendaan | Pepusungan | Gelung Pusung | Gelung Jaja | Udeng Lukit | Pangkulukan | Sekar Taji | Sellumpit | Dress: Suténdang | Semayut | Kewaca | Bulat b. c. 1.(5) | Bulat b. c. 1.(6) | Bulat biasa c. | Bulat biasa | Bulat gantut 1. | Bulat genting s. | Bulat genting | Kalpa ganut | Jalér | Jalér melancingan | Wastra b. mejalér | Wastra biasa | Kampuh | Sugu ngenah | Ornaments: Garuda Mungkur | Kelat bau | Sabukwungsel | Ampok-ampok | Ampok-ampok + Guak | Badong bau | Badong bau kekalih | Keris | Anting-anting | Subang | Subang sekar | Ali-ali | Ulat-ulatan | Single bangle(8) | Simple bangle | Double bangle | Single armlet | Double armlet | Single anklet | Double anklet | Anklet + Guak | Attributes: Keris | Genitri | Padma | Ubas-ubes | Gada | Cakra | Cangah | Tumpak | Wayu pasu | Trisula | Jerang | Hair: Roma mégamban | Roma samah | Roma jering | Roma mepusungan | Roma mejambul | Payas anyuk roman | Lengar | Garik glubres | Iris kalbe | Jungot biasa | Jungot glubres | Jungot bremgos | Eyes: P. adiki | P. kekalih | P. tetiga | P. + manik | P. aumpé | P. ádelingan | P. pijak | Seken | Ngangah | Nose: Ungasan langsing | Ungasan agung | Ungasan gedé | Ungasan pedél | Mouth: Untu nyasat | Untu rangap | Siung | Tidah nyelép | Gesanteian | Stance: Profile(9) | Part profile(10) | Full face | Ngadeg biasa | Ningkung | Ngadeg ngayeg | Variations(11) | Upper limbs: Tangan kekalih | Tangan empat | Tangan adasa | Nyalimpang | Ogel | Both arms free | Kedaya-mudra | Saro-mudra | Cakra-mudra | Danuh-mudra | Padma-mudra | Sika-mudra | Variations(12) | Extras: Karna bawi | Cucuk | Kampid | Ikuh | Kegil | Waspenak | Colour: Patih | Patih swau | Kudrang nguda | Kudrang biasa | Kudrang wayah | Soklat nguda | Soklat wayah | Tangi nguda | Tangi wayah | Pelung nguda | Gadang biasa | Gadang wayah | Alus | Extras: Pulang | Kulit sebuh(13) | Bulukuman | Lambé liebak | Cerawis |
|---|---|---

COLLECTIONS: PELIATAN, I WAYAN EWER & I WAYAN BADRA

| SERVANTS: | Ht.(cm.) Peliatan | Ht.(cm.) Ewer | Ht.(cm.) Badra | Head-dress: Udeng mejambul | Head-dress: Udeng mejambul bok | Head-dress: Udeng meperucut | Dress: Tengkalung | Dress: Bulat biasa | Dress: Bulat genting | Dress: Kambèn biasa | Ornaments & Attributes: Anting-anting | Ornaments & Attributes: Dulalir ané bunter | Ornaments & Attributes: Dulalir ané lantang | Ornaments & Attributes: Sumpang sekar(14) | Ornaments & Attributes: Bungkung | Ornaments & Attributes: Ulat-ulatan | Ornaments & Attributes: Single bangle(8) | Ornaments & Attributes: Simple bangle | Ornaments & Attributes: Arit | Ornaments & Attributes: Kadutan | Hair: Bok mejempongan | Hair: Kumis langah | Hair: Jenggot biasa | Eye: Mata abesik | Eye: Mata dedelingan | Eye: Mata digoké | Eye: Tualen's eye(15) | Eye: Merdah's eye | Eye: Sangut's eye | Nose: Cunguh pèdèl | Nose: Cunguh pèset | Nose: Cunguh gedé menur(16) | Nose: Cunguh meniring | Mouth: Gigi asat | Mouth: Gigi akaté | Mouth: Gigi dadua | Mouth: Cecantelan | Facial extras: Gidak jantuk | Facial extras: Kuping gedé | Facial extras: Kuping metueuk | Facial extras: Bibih bucuh | Facial extras: Jagut gedé | Neck & Torso: Bahong lantang | Neck & Torso: Bahong gondong | Neck & Torso: Bahong sigek(17) | Neck & Torso: Batun salak | Neck & Torso: Nyonyo gatul | Neck & Torso: Basang bèdog | Neck & Torso: Pungsed ngenah(18) | Neck & Torso: Jit engging | Neck & Torso: Tundun bungkut | Lower limbs & Stance: Full profile(19) | Lower limbs & Stance: Jujuk biasa | Lower limbs & Stance: Batis bawak, katé | Lower limbs & Stance: Batis pèrot | Lower limbs & Stance: Jerijin batis tubug | Upper limbs: Lima dadua | Upper limbs: Both arms free | Upper limbs: Cakra-mudra abesik(20) | Upper limbs: Cadra-mudra dadua | Upper limbs: Padma-mudra abesik | Upper limbs: Padma-mudra dadua | Upper limbs: Parasu-mudra abesik | Upper limbs: Jerijin lima nemnem | Colour: Putih susu | Colour: Ulangkrik | Colour: Tangi nguda | Colour: Soklat nguda | Colour: Soklat wayah | Colour: Barak wayah | Colour: Kudrang nguda | Colour: Kudrang wayah | Extras: Bibih limbak | Extras: Kulit mebulu | Extras: Kumis ceruncung | Extras: Polèng |
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